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TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

REMARKS ON CERTAIN PASSAGES IN THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

[The corrections in the Second Edition are put in brackets.]

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Introduction.

IT is often urged, and sometimes felt and granted, that there are in the Articles propositions or terms inconsistent with the Catholic faith; or, at least, when persons do not go so far as to feel the objection as of force, they are perplexed how best to reply to it, or how most simply to explain the passages on which it is made to rest. The following Tract is drawn up with the view of showing how groundless the objection is, and further of approximating towards the argumentative answer to it, of which most men have an implicit apprehension, though they may have nothing more. That there are real difficulties to a Catholic Christian in the Ecclesiastical position of our Church at this day, no one can deny; but the statements of the Articles are not in the number; and it may be right at the present moment to insist upon this. If in any quarter it is supposed that persons who profess to be disciples of the early Church will silently concur with those of very opposite sentiments in furthering a relaxation of subscriptions, which, it is imagined, are galling to both parties, though for different reasons, and that they will do this against the wish of the great body of the Church, the writer of the following pages would raise one voice, at least, in protest against any such anticipation. Even in such points as he may think the English Church deficient, never can he, without a great alteration of sentiment, be party to forcing the opinion or project of one school upon another. Religious changes, to be beneficial, should be the act of the whole body; they are worth little if they are the mere act of a majority¹. No good can come of any change which is not heartfelt, a development

¹ This is not meant to hinder acts of Catholic consent, such as occurred anciently, when the Catholic body aids one portion of a particular Church against another portion.

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of feelings springing up freely and calmly within the bosom of the whole body itself. Moreover, a change in theological teaching involves either the commission or the confession of sin; it is either the profession or renunciation of erroneous doctrine, and if it does not succeed in proving the fact of past guilt, it, *ipso facto*, implies present. In other words, every change in religion carries with it its own condemnation, which is not attended by deep repentance. Even supposing then that any changes in contemplation, whatever they were, were good in themselves, they would cease to be good to a Church, in which they were the fruits not of the quiet conviction of all, but of the agitation, or tyranny, or intrigue of a few; nurtured not in mutual love, but in strife and envying; perfected not in humiliation and grief, but in pride, elation, and triumph. Moreover it is a very serious truth, that persons and bodies who put themselves into a disadvantageous state, cannot at their pleasure extricate themselves from it. They are unworthy of it; they are in prison, and CHRIST is the keeper. There is but one way towards a real reformation, —a return to Him in heart and spirit, whose sacred truth they have betrayed; all other methods, however fair they may promise, will prove to be but shadows and failures.

On these grounds, were there no others, the present writer, for one, will be no party to the ordinary political methods by which professed reforms are carried or compassed in this day. We can do nothing well till we act "with one accord;" we can have no accord in action till we agree together in heart; we cannot agree without a supernatural influence; we cannot have a supernatural influence unless we pray for it; we cannot pray acceptably without repentance and confession. Our Church's strength would be irresistible, humanly speaking, were it but at unity with itself: if it remains divided, part against part, we shall see the energy which was meant to subdue the world preying upon itself, according to our SAVIOUR's express assurance, that such a house "cannot stand." Till we feel this, till we seek one another as brethren, not lightly throwing aside our private opinions, which we seem to feel we have received from above, from an ill-regulated, untrue desire of unity, but returning to each other in heart, and coming

together to God to do for us what we cannot do for ourselves, no change can be for the better. Till [we][her children] are stirred up to this religious course, let the Church, [our Mother,] sit still; let [her children] be content to be in bondage; let [us] work in chains; let [us] submit to [our] imperfections as a punishment; let [us] go on teaching [through the medium of indeterminate statements,] and inconsistent precedents, and principles but partially developed. We are not better than our fathers; let us bear to be what Hammond was, or Andrews, or Hooker; let us not faint under that body of death, which they bore about in patience; nor shrink from the penalty of sins, which they inherited from the age before them¹.

But these remarks are beyond our present scope, which is merely to show that, while our Prayer Book is acknowledged on all hands to be of Catholic origin, our Articles also, the offspring of an uncatholic age, are, through God's good providence, to say the least, not uncatholic, and may be subscribed by those who aim at being catholic in heart and doctrine. In entering upon the proposed examination, it is only necessary to add, that in several places the writer has found it convenient to express himself in language recently used, which he is willing altogether to make his own. He has distinguished the passages introduced by quotation marks.

¹ "We, thy sinful creatures," says the Service for King Charles the Martyr, "here assembled before Thee, do, in behalf of all the people of this land, humbly confess, that they were the *crying sins* of this nation, which brought down this judgment upon us," i. e. King Charles's murder.

§ 1.—*Holy Scripture and the Authority of the Church.*

Articles vi. & xx.—“ Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation ; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. The Church hath [power to decree (*statuendi*) rites and ceremonies, and] authority in controversies of faith ; and yet it is not lawful for the Church to [ordain (*instituire*) any thing that is contrary to God’s word written, neither may it] so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ, yet [as it ought not to decree (*decernere*) anything against the same, so] besides the same, ought it not to enforce (*obtrudere*) anything to be believed for necessity of salvation ¹.”

Two instruments of Christian teaching are spoken of in these Articles, Holy Scripture and the Church.

Here then we have to inquire, first, what is meant by Holy Scripture ; next, what is meant by the Church ; and then, what their respective offices are in teaching revealed truth, and how these are adjusted with one another in their actual exercise.

1. Now what the Church is, will be considered below in Section 4.

2. And the Books of Holy Scripture are enumerated in the latter part of the Article, so as to preclude question. Still two points deserve notice here.

First, the Scriptures or Canonical Books are said to be those “of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.” Here it is not meant that there never was any doubt in *portions* of the Church or *particular* Churches concerning certain books, which the Article includes in the Canon ; for some of them,—as, for

¹ The passages in brackets (all) relate to rites and ceremonies which are not here in question. [From brackets marking the Second Edition, must be excepted those which occur in quotations.]

instance, the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse—have been the subject of much doubt in the West or East, as the case may be. But the Article asserts that there has been no doubt about them in the Church Catholic; that is, at the very first time that the Catholic or whole Church had the opportunity of forming a judgment on the subject, it pronounced in favour of the Canonical Books. The Epistle to the Hebrews was doubted by the West, and the Apocalypse by the East, only while those portions of the Church investigated separately from each other, only till they compared notes, interchanged sentiments, and formed a united judgment. The phrase must mean this, because, from the nature of the case, it can mean nothing else.

And next, be it observed, that the books which are commonly called Apocrypha, are not asserted in this Article to be destitute of inspiration or to be simply human, but to be not canonical; in other words, to differ from Canonical Scripture, specially in this respect, *viz.* that they are not adducible in proof of doctrine. “The other books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners, but yet doth not apply them to *establish any doctrine.*” That this is the limit to which our disparagement of them extends, is plain, not only because the Article mentions nothing beyond it, but also from the reverential manner in which the Homilies speak of them, as shall be incidentally shown in Section 11. The compatibility of such reverence with such disparagement is also shown from the feeling towards them of St. Jerome, who is quoted in the Article, and by St. Augustine, not to mention other Fathers, both of whom imply more or less their inferiority to Canonical Scripture, yet use them freely and continually, and speak of them as Scripture. St. Augustine says, that “those books which are received by *all the Churches*” (the very language of the Article,) “should be preferred to those which are not received by all, and should be accorded greater authority¹.” But books which are Canonical cannot have less authority than others; it follows, according to St. Augustine, that those books which are not received by all

¹ De Doctr. Christ. ii. 8.

the Churches, are not canonical. St. Jerome is more express and pertinent ; for he distinctly names many of the books which he considers not canonical, and virtually names them all by naming what *are* canonical. For instance, he says, speaking of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, “ As the Church reads Judith, Tobit, and the Maccabees, without receiving them among the Canonical Scriptures, so she reads these two books for the edification of the people, not for the confirmation of the authority of ecclesiastical doctrines.” (*Præf. in Libr. Salom.*) Again, “ The Wisdom, as it is commonly styled, of Solomon, and the book of Jesus son of Sirach, and Judith, and Tobias, and the Shepherd, are not in the Canon.” (*Præf. ad Reges.*) Such is the language of writers who nevertheless are, to say the least, not wanting in reverence to the books they thus disparage.

A further question may be asked, concerning our received version of the Scriptures, whether it is in any sense imposed on us as a true comment on the original text ; as the Vulgate is upon the Roman Catholics. It would appear not. It was made and authorized by royal command, which cannot be supposed to have any claim upon our interior consent. At the same time every one who reads it in the Services of the Church, does, of course, thereby imp'y that he considers that it contains no deadly heresy or dangerous mistake. And about its simplicity, majesty, gravity, harmony, and venerableness, there can be but one opinion.

3. Next we come to the main point, the adjustment which this Article effects between the respective offices of the Scripture and Church ; which seems to be as follows.

It is laid down that, 1. Scripture contains all necessary articles of the faith ; 2. either in its text, or by inference ; 3. The Church is the keeper of Scripture ; 4. and a witness of it ; 5. and has authority in controversies of faith ; 6. but may not expound one passage of Scripture to contradict another ; 7. nor enforce as an article of faith any point not contained in Scripture.

From this it appears, first, that the Church *expounds and enforces the faith* ; for it is forbidden to expound in a particular way, or so to enforce as to obtrude ; next, that it derives the faith

wholly from Scripture; thirdly, that its office is to educe an *harmonious interpretation* of Scripture. Thus much the Article settles.

Two important questions, however, it does not settle, viz. whether the Church judges, first, at her *sole discretion*, next, on her *sole responsibility*; i.e. first, what the *media* are by which the Church interprets Scripture, whether by a direct divine gift, or catholic tradition, or critical exegesis of the text, or in any other way; and next, who is to decide whether it interprets Scripture rightly or not;—what is her method, if any; and who is her judge, if any. In other words, not a word is said, on the one hand, in *favour* of Scripture having no rule or method to fix interpretation by, or, as it is commonly expressed, *being the sole rule of faith*; nor on the other, of the *private judgment of the individual* being the ultimate standard of interpretation. So much has been said lately on both these points, and indeed on the whole subject of these two Articles, that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon them; but since it is often supposed to be almost a first principle of our Church, that Scripture is “the rule of faith,” it may be well, before passing on, to make an extract from a paper, published some years since, which shows, by instances from our divines, that the application of the phrase to Scripture is but of recent adoption. The other question, about the ultimate judge of the interpretation of Scripture, shall not be entered upon.

“We may dispense with the phrase ‘Rule of Faith,’ as applied to Scripture, on the ground of its being ambiguous; and, again, because it is then used in a novel sense; for the ancient Church made the Apostolic Tradition, as summed up in the Creed, and not the Bible, the *Regula Fidei*, or Rule. Moreover, its use as a technical phrase, seems to be of late introduction in the Church, that is, since the days of King William the Third. Our great divines use it without any fixed sense, sometimes for Scripture, sometimes for the whole and perfectly adjusted Christian doctrine, sometimes for the Creed; and, at the risk of being tedious, we will prove this, by quotations, that the point may be put beyond dispute.

“Ussher, after St. Austin, identifies it with the Creed;—when

speaking of the Article of our LORD's Descent to Hell, he says,—

“ ‘It having here likewise been further manifested, what different opinions have been entertained by the ancient Doctors of the Church, concerning the determinate place wherein our Saviour's soul did remain during the time of the separation of it from the body, I leave it to be considered by the learned, whether any such controverted matter may fitly be brought in to *expound the Rule of Faith*, which, being common both to the great and small ones of the Church, must contain such varieties only as are generally agreed upon by the common consent of all true Christians.’—*Answer to a Jesuit*, p. 362.

“Taylor speaks to the same purpose: ‘Let us see with what constancy that and the following ages of the Church did adhere to the Apostles' Creed, as the sufficient and perfect *Rule of Faith*.’—*Dissuasive*, part 2, i. 4, p. 470. Elsewhere he calls Scripture the Rule: ‘That the Scripture is a full and sufficient *Rule* to Christians in faith and manners, a full and perfect declaration of the Will of GOD, is therefore certain, because we have no other.’—*Ibid.* part 2, i. 2, p. 384. Elsewhere, Scripture and the Creed: ‘He hath, by His wise Providence, preserved the plain places of Scripture and the Apostles' Creed, in all Churches, to be the *Rule* and Measure of Faith, by which all Churches are saved.’—*Ibid.* part 2, i. 1, p. 346. Elsewhere he identifies it with Scripture, the Creeds, and the first four Councils: ‘We also [after Scripture] do believe the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene, with the additions of Constantinople, and that which is commonly called the symbol of St. Athanasius; and the four first General Councils are so entirely admitted by us, that they, together with the plain words of Scripture, are made the *Rule* and Measure of judging heresies among us.’—*Ibid.* part 1, i. p. 131.

“Laud calls the Creed, or rather the Creed with Scripture, the Rule. ‘Since the Fathers make the Creed, the *Rule of Faith*; since the agreeing sense of Scripture with those Articles are the *Two Regular Precepts*, by which a divine is governed about his faith,’ &c.—*Conference with Fisher*, p. 42.

“Bramhall also: ‘The Scriptures and the Creed are not two different Rules of Faith, but *one and the same Rule, dilated in Scripture, contracted in the Creed*.’—*Works*, p. 402. Stilling-

flect says the same (*Grounds*, i. 4. 3.); as does Thorndike (*De Rat. fin. Controv.* p. 144, &c.). Elsewhere, Stillingfleet calls Scripture the Rule (*Ibid.* i. 6. 2.); as does Jackson (vol. i. p. 226). But the most complete and decisive statement on the subject is contained in Field's work on the Church, from which shall follow a long extract.

“‘It remained to show,’ he says, ‘what is the Rule of that judgment whereby the Church discerneth between truth and falsehood, the faith and heresy, and to whom it properly pertaineth to interpret those things which, touching this Rule, are doubtful. The Rule of our Faith in general, whereby we know it to be true, is the infinite excellency of GOD. . . . It being pre-supposed in the generality that the doctrine of the Christian Faith is of GOD, and containeth nothing but heavenly truth, in the next place, we are to inquire by what Rule we are to judge of particular things contained within the compass of it.

“‘This *Rule* is, 1. The summary comprehension of such principal articles of this divine knowledge, as are the principles whence all other things are concluded and inferred. These are contained in the *Creed of the Apostles*.

“‘2. All such things as every Christian is bound expressly to believe, by the light and direction whereof he judgeth of other things, which are not absolutely necessary so particularly to be known. These are rightly said to be the Rule of our Faith, because the principles of every science are the Rule whereby we judge of the truth of all things, as being better and more generally known than any other thing, and the cause of knowing them.

“‘3. The analogy, due proportion, and correspondence, that one thing in this divine knowledge hath with another, so that men cannot err in one of them without erring in another; nor rightly understand one, but they must likewise rightly conceive the rest.

“‘4. Whatsoever *Books* were delivered unto us, as written by them, to whom the first and immediate revelation of the divine truth was made.

“‘5. Whatsoever hath been delivered by all the saints with one consent, which have left their judgment and opinion in writing.

“‘6. Whatsoever the most famous have constantly and uniformly delivered, as a matter of faith, no one contradicting, though many other ecclesiastical writers be silent, and say nothing of it.

“‘7. That which the most, and most famous in every age, constantly delivered as a matter of faith, and as received of them that went before them, in such sort that the contradictors and gainsayers were in their beginnings noted for singularity, novelty, and division, and afterwards, in process of time, if they persisted in such contradiction, charged with heresy.

“‘These three latter Rules of our Faith we admit, not because they are equal with the former, and originally in themselves contain the direction of our Faith, but because nothing can be delivered, with such and so full consent of the

people of GOD, as in them is expressed; but it must need be from those first authors and founders of our Christian profession. The Romauists add unto these the decrees of Councils and determinations of Popes, making these also to be the Rules of Faith; but because we have no proof of *their* infallibility, we number them not with the rest.

“ Thus we see how many things, in several degrees and sorts, are said to be Rules of our Faith. The infinite excellency of GOD, as that whereby the truth of the heavenly doctrine is proved. The Articles of Faith, and other verities ever expressly known in the Church as the first principles, are the Canon by which we judge of conclusions from thence inferred. The Scripture, as containing in it all that doctrine of Faith which CHRIST the SON of GOD delivered. The uniform practice and consenting judgment of them that went before us, as a certain and undoubted explication of the things contained in the Scripture. . . . So, then, *we do not make Scripture the Rule of our Faith, but that other things in their kind are Rules likewise; in such sort that it is not safe, without respect had unto them, to judge things by the Scripture alone,*’ &c.—iv. 14. pp. 364, 365.

“ These extracts show not only what the Anglican doctrine is, but, in particular, that the phrase ‘Rule of Faith’ is no symbolical expression with us, appropriated to some one sense; certainly not as a definition or attribute of Holy Scripture. And it is important to insist upon this, from the very great misconceptions to which the phrase gives rise. Perhaps its use had better be avoided altogether. In the sense in which it is commonly understood at this day, Scripture, it is plain, is *not*, on Anglican principles, the Rule of Faith.”

§ 2.—*Justification by Faith only.*

Article xi.—“That we are justified by Faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine.”

The Homilies add that Faith is the sole *means*, the sole *instrument* of justification. Now, to show briefly what such statements imply, and what they do not.

1. They do *not* imply a denial of *Baptism* as a means and an instrument of justification; which the Homilies elsewhere affirm, as will be shown incidentally in a later section.

“The instrumental power of Faith cannot interfere with the instrumental power of Baptism; because Faith is the sole justifier, not in contrast to *all* means and agencies whatever, (for it is not surely in contrast to our LORD’s merits, or GOD’s mercy,) but to all other *graces*. When, then, Faith is called the sole instrument, this means the sole *internal* instrument, not the sole instrument of any kind.

“There is nothing inconsistent, then, in Faith being the sole instrument of justification, and yet Baptism also the sole instrument, and that at the same time, because in distinct senses; an inward instrument in no way interfering with an outward instrument, Baptism may be the hand of the giver, and Faith the hand of the receiver.”

Nor does the sole instrumentality of Faith interfere with the doctrine of *Works* being a mean also. And that it is a mean, the Homily of Alms-deeds declares in the strongest language, as will also be quoted in Section 11.

“An assent to the doctrine that Faith alone justifies, does not at all preclude the doctrine of Works justifying also. If, indeed, it were said that Works justify in *the same sense* as Faith only justifies, this would be a contradiction in terms; but Faith only may justify in one sense—Good Works in another:—and this is all that is here maintained. After all, does not CHRIST only justify? How is it that the doctrine of Faith justifying does not

interfere with our LORD's being the sole Justifier? It will, of course, be replied, that our LORD is the *meritorious cause*, and Faith the *means*; that Faith justifies in a different and subordinate sense. As, then, CHRIST justifies *in the sense* in which He justifies alone, yet Faith also justifies in its own sense; so Works, whether moral or ritual, may justify us in their own respective senses, though in the sense in which Faith justifies, it only justifies. The only question is, *What* is that sense in which Works justify, so as not to interfere with Faith only justifying? It may, indeed, turn out on inquiry, that the sense alleged will not hold, either as being unscriptural, or for any other reason; but, whether so or not, at any rate the apparent inconsistency of language should not startle persons; nor should they so promptly condemn those who, though they do not use *their* language, use St. James's. Indeed, is not this argument the very weapon of the Arians, in their warfare against the SON of GOD? They said, CHRIST is not GOD, because the FATHER is called the '*Only God.*' "

2. Next we have to inquire *in what sense* Faith only does justify. In a number of ways, of which here two only shall be mentioned.

First, it is the pleading or impetrating principle, or constitutes our *title* to justification; being analogous among the graces to Moses' lifting up his hands on the Mount, or the Israelites eyeing the Brazen Serpent,—actions which did not merit GOD's mercy, but *asked* for it. A number of means go to effect our justification. We are justified by CHRIST alone, in that He has purchased the gift; by Faith alone, in that Faith asks for it; by Baptism alone, for Baptism conveys it; and by newness of heart alone, for newness of heart is the life of it.

And secondly, Faith, as being the beginning of perfect or justifying righteousness, is taken for what it tends towards, or ultimately will be. It is said by anticipation to be that which it promises; just as one might pay a labourer his hire before he began his work. Faith working by love is the seed of divine graces, which in due time will be brought forth and flourish—partly in this world, fully in the next.

§ 3.—*Works before and after Justification.*

Articles xii. & xiii.—“ Works done before the grace of CHRIST, and the inspiration of His SPIRIT, [‘ before justification,’ *title of the Article,*] are not pleasant to GOD (*minimè Deo grata sunt*); forasmuch as they spring not of Faith in JESUS CHRIST, neither do they make man meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity (*merentur gratiam de congruo*); yea, rather for that they are not done as GOD hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin. Albeit good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification (*justificatos sequuntur*), cannot put away (*expiare*) our sins, and endure the severity of GOD’s judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable (*grata et accepta*) to GOD in CHRIST, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith.”

Two sorts of works are here mentioned—works before justification, and works after; and they are most strongly contrasted with each other.

1. Works before justification, are done “before the grace of CHRIST, and the inspiration of His SPIRIT.”

2. Works before, “do not spring of Faith in JESUS CHRIST;” works after are “the fruits of Faith.”

3. Works before “have the nature of sin;” works after are “good works.”

4. Works before “are not pleasant (*grata*) to GOD;” works after “are pleasing and acceptable (*grata et accepta*) to GOD.”

Two propositions, mentioned in these Articles, remain, and deserve consideration: First, that works *before* justification do not make or dispose men to receive grace, or, as the school writers say, deserve grace of congruity; secondly, that works *after* “cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of GOD’s judgment.”

1. As to the former statement,—to deserve *de congruo*, or of congruity, is to move the Divine regard, not from any claim upon

it, but from a certain fitness or suitableness ; as, for instance, it might be said that dry wood had a certain disposition or fitness towards heat which green wood had not. Now, the Article denies that works done before the grace of CHRIST, or in a mere state of nature, in this way dispose towards grace, or move GOD to grant grace. And it asserts, with or without reason, (for it is a question of *historical fact*, which need not specially concern us,) that certain schoolmen maintained the affirmative.

Now, that this is what it means, is plain from the following passages of the Homilies, which in no respect have greater claims upon us than as comments upon the Articles :—

“ Therefore they that teach repentance *without a lively faith* in our SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, do teach none other but Judas’s repentance, as all the schoolmen do, which do *only* allow these three parts of repentance,—the contrition of the heart, the confession of the mouth, and the satisfaction of the work. But all these things we find in Judas’s repentance, which, in outward appearance, did far exceed and pass the repentance of Peter. . . . This was commonly the penance which CHRIST enjoined sinners, ‘ Go thy way, and sin no more ;’ which penance we shall never be able to fulfil, *without the special grace of Him that doth say, ‘ Without Me, ye can do nothing.’* ”—*On Repentance*, p. 460.

To take a passage which is still more clear :

“ As these examples are not brought in to the end that we should thereby take a boldness to sin, presuming on the mercy and goodness of GOD, but to the end that, if, through the frailness of our own flesh, and the temptation of the devil, we fall into the like sins, we should in no wise despair of the mercy and goodness of GOD : even so must we beware and take heed, that we do in no wise think in our hearts, imagine, or believe *that we are able to repent aright, or to turn effectually unto the LORD by our own might and strength.* ”—*Ibid.*, part i. fin.

The Article contemplates these two states,—one of justifying grace, and one of the utter destitution of grace ; and it says, that those who are in utter destitution cannot do anything to gain justification ; and, indeed, to assert the contrary would be Pelagianism. However, there is an intermediate state, of which the Article says nothing, but which must not be forgotten, as being an actually existing one. Men are not always either in light or in darkness, but are sometimes between the two ; they are sometimes not in a state of Christian justification, yet not utterly

deserted by GOD, but in a state something like that of Jews or of Heathen, turning to the thought of religion. They are not gifted with *habitual* grace, but they still are visited by Divine influences, or by *actual* grace, or rather *aid*; and these influences are the first-fruits of the grace of justification going before it, and are intended to lead on to it, and to be perfected in it, as twilight leads to day. And since it is a Scripture maxim, that "he that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much;" and "to whosoever hath, to him shall be given;" therefore, it is quite true that works done *with* divine aid, and in faith, *before* justification, *do* dispose men to receive the grace of justification;—such were Cornelius's alms, fastings, and prayers, which led to his baptism. At the same time it must be borne in mind that, even in such cases, it is not the works themselves which make them meet, as some schoolmen seem to have said, but the secret aid of God, vouchsafed, equally with the "grace and Spirit," which is the portion of the baptized, for the merits of CHRIST's sacrifice.

[But it may be objected, that the silence observed in the Article about a state between that of justification and grace, and that of neither, is a proof that there is none such. This argument, however, would prove too much; for in like manner there is a silence in the Sixth Article about a *judge* of the scripturalness of doctrine, yet a judge there must be. And, again, few, it is supposed, would deny that Cornelius, before the angel came to him, was in a more hopeful state, than Simon Magus or Felix. The difficulty then, if there be one, is common to persons of whatever school of opinion.]

2. If works *before* justification, when done by the influence of divine aid, gain grace, much more do works *after* justification. They are, according to the Article, "grata," "pleasing to GOD;" and they are accepted, "accepta;" which means that GOD rewards them, and that of course according to their degree of excellence. At the same time, as works before justification may nevertheless be done under a divine influence, so works after justification are still liable to the infection of original sin; and, as not being perfect, "cannot expiate our sins," or "endure the severity of GOD's judgment."

§ 4.—*The Visible Church.*

Art. xix.—“The visible Church of CHRIST is a congregation of faithful men (*cœtus fidelium*), in the which the pure Word of GOD is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered, according to CHRIST’S ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.”

This is not an abstract definition of *a* Church, but a description of *the* actually existing One Holy Catholic Church diffused throughout the world; as if it were read, “The Church is a certain society of the faithful,” &c. This is evident from the mode of describing the Catholic Church familiar to all writers from the first ages down to the age of this Article. For instance, St. Clement of Alexandria says, “I mean by the Church, not a place, but the *congregation of the elect.*” Origen: “The Church, the *assembly of all the faithful.*” St. Ambrose: “*One congregation, one Church.*” St. Isidore: “The Church is a *congregation of saints*, collected on a certain faith, and the best conduct of life.” St. Augustin: “The Church is *the people of God* through all ages.” Again: “The Church is *the multitude* which is spread over the whole earth.” St. Cyril: “When we speak of the Church, we denote the most holy *multitude of the pious.*” Theodoret: “The Apostle calls the Church the *assembly of the faithful.*” Pope Gregory: “The Church, a *multitude of the faithful* collected of both sexes.” Bede: “The Church is the *congregation of all saints.*” Alcuin: “The Holy Catholic Church,—in Latin, the *congregation of the faithful.*” Amalarius: “The Church is the *people* called together by the Church’s ministers.” Pope Nicolas I.: “The Church, that is, the *congregation of Catholics.*” St. Bernard: “What is the Spouse, but the *congregation of the just?*” Peter the Venerable: “The Church is called a *congregation*, but not of all things, not of cattle, but of *men, faithful, good, just.* Though bad among these good, and just among the unjust, are revealed or concealed, yet it is called a Church.”

Hugo Victorinus : "The Holy Church, that is, *the university of the faithful.*" Arnulphus : "The Church is called *the congregation of the faithful.*" Albertus Magnus : "The Greek word Church means in Latin convocation ; and whereas works and callings belong to rational animals, and reason in man is inward faith, therefore it is called *the congregation of the faithful.*" Durandus : "The Church is in one sense material, in which divers offices are celebrated ; in another spiritual, which is the *collection of the faithful.*" Alvarus : "The Church is the *multitude of the faithful*, or the university of Christians." Pope Pius II. : "The Church is the *multitude of the faithful* dispersed through all nations¹." [And so the Reformers, in their own way ; for instance, the Confession of Augsburg. "The one Holy Church will remain for ever. Now the Church of Christ properly is the congregation of the members of Christ, that is, of saints who truly believe and obey Christ ; though with this congregation many bad and hypocrites are mixed in this life, till the last judgment." vii.—And the Saxon : "We say then that the visible Church in this life is an assembly of those who embrace the Gospel of Christ and rightly use the Sacraments," &c. xii.]

These illustrations of the phraseology of the Article may be multiplied in any number. And they plainly show that it is not laying down any logical definition *what* a Church is, but is describing, and, as it were, pointing to the Catholic Church diffused throughout the world ; which, being but one, cannot possibly be mistaken, and requires no other account of it beyond this single and majestic one. The ministration of the Word and Sacraments is mentioned as a further note of it. As to the question of its limits, whether Episcopal Succession or whether intercommunion with the whole be necessary to each part of it,—these are questions, most important indeed, but of detail, and are not expressly treated of in the Articles.

This view is further illustrated by the following passage from the Homily for Whitsunday :—

"Our Saviour CHRIST departing out of the world unto His FATHER, promised

¹ These instances are from Launoy.

His Disciples to send down another COMFORTER, that should continue with them for ever, and direct them into all truth. Which thing, to be faithfully and truly performed, the Scriptures do sufficiently bear witness. Neither must we think that this COMFORTER was either promised, or else given, only to the Apostles, but also to *the universal Church of CHRIST, dispersed through the whole world.* For, unless the HOLY GHOST had been always present, governing and preserving the Church from the beginning, it could never have suffered so many and great brunts of affliction and persecution, with so little damage and harm as it hath. And the words of CHRIST are most plain in this behalf, saying, that 'the SPIRIT of Truth should abide with them for ever;' that 'He would be with them always (He meaneth by grace, virtue, and power) even to the world's end.'

"Also in the prayer that He made to His FATHER a little before His death, He maketh intercession, not only for Himself and His Apostles, but indifferently for all them that should *believe* in Him through their words, that is, to wit, for His whole Church. Again, St. Paul saith, 'If any man have not the SPIRIT of CHRIST, the same is not His.' Also, in the words following: 'We have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.' Hereby, then, it is evident and plain to all men, that the HOLY GHOST was given, not only to the Apostles, but also to the *whole body of CHRIST's congregation*, although not in like form and majesty as He came down at the feast of Pentecost. But now herein standeth the controversy,—whether all men do justly arrogate to themselves the HOLY GHOST, or no. The Bishops of Rome have for a long time made a sore challenge thereto, reasoning with themselves after this sort: 'The HOLY GHOST,' say they, 'was promised to the Church, and never forsaketh the Church. But we are the chief heads and the principal part of the Church, therefore we have the HOLY GHOST for ever: and whatsoever things we decree are undoubted verities and oracles of the HOLY GHOST.' That ye may perceive the weakness of this argument, it is needful to teach you, first, what the true Church of CHRIST is, and then to confer the Church of Rome therewith, to discern how well they agree together. The true Church is *an universal congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people*, built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, JESUS CHRIST Himself being the head corner-stone. And it hath always three notes or marks, whereby it is known: pure and sound doctrine, the Sacraments ministered according to CHRIST's holy institution, and the right use of ecclesiastical discipline. This description of the Church is agreeable both to the Scriptures of GOD, and also to the doctrine of the ancient Fathers, so that none may justly find fault therewith. Now, if you will compare this with the Church of Rome, not as it was in the beginning, but as it is at present, and hath been for the space of nine hundred years and odd; you shall well perceive the state thereof to be so far wide from the nature of the Church, that nothing can be more."

^ This passage is quoted, not for all it contains, but in that re-

spect in which it claims attention, viz. as far as it is an illustration of the Article. It is speaking of the one Catholic Church, not of an abstract idea of a Church which may be multiplied indefinitely in fact; and it uses the same terms of it which the Article does of "the visible Church." It says that "the true Church is an *universal* congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people," &c., which as closely corresponds to the *cætus fidelium*, or "congregation of faithful men" of the Article, as the above descriptions from Fathers or Divines do. Therefore, the *cætus fidelium* spoken of in the Article is not a definition, which kirk, or connexion, or other communion may be made to fall under, but the enunciation of a fact.

§ 5.—*General Councils.*

Article xxi.—“General councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes. And when they be gathered together, forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the SPIRIT and Word of GOD, they may err, and sometimes have erred, in things pertaining to GOD.”

That great bodies of men, of different countries, may not meet together without the sanction of their rulers, is plain from the principles of civil obedience and from primitive practice. That, when met together, though Christians, they will not be all ruled by the SPIRIT or Word of GOD, is plain from our LORD’s parable of the net, and from melancholy experience. That bodies of men, deficient in this respect, may err, is a self-evident truth,—*unless*, indeed, they be favoured with some divine superintendence, which has to be proved, before it can be admitted.

General councils then may err, [*as such* ;—may err,] *unless* in any case it is promised, as a matter of express supernatural privilege, that they shall *not* err ; a case which lies beyond the scope of this Article, or at any rate beside its determination.

Such a promise, however, *does* exist, in cases when general councils are not only gathered together according to “the commandment and will of princes,” but *in the Name of CHRIST*, according to our LORD’s promise. The Article merely contemplates the human prince, not the King of Saints. While councils are a thing of earth, their infallibility of course is not guaranteed ; when they are a thing of heaven, their deliberations are overruled, and their decrees authoritative. In such cases they are *Catholic* councils ; and it would seem, from passages which will be quoted in Section 11, that the Homilies recognize four, or even six, as bearing this character. Thus Catholic or Œcumenical Councils are general councils, and something more. Some general councils are Catholic, and others are not. Nay, as even Romanists grant, the same councils may be partly Catholic, partly not.

If Catholicity be thus a *quality*, found at times in general councils, rather than the *differentia* belonging to a certain class of them, it is still less surprising that the Article should be silent about it.

What those *conditions* are, which fulfil the notion of a gathering "in the Name of CHRIST," in the case of a particular council, it is not necessary here to determine. Some have included among these conditions, the subsequent reception of its decrees by the universal Church; others a ratification by the pope.

Another of these conditions, however, the Article goes on to mention, *viz.* that in points necessary to salvation, a council should prove its decrees by Scripture.

St. Gregory Nazianzen well illustrates the consistency of this Article with a belief in the infallibility of Œcumenical Councils, by his own language on the subject on different occasions.

In the following passage he anticipates the Article:—

"My mind is, if I must write the truth, to keep clear of every conference of bishops, for of conference never saw I good come, or a remedy so much as an increase of evils. For there is strife and ambition, and these have the upper hand of reason."—Ep. 55.

Yet, on the other hand, he speaks elsewhere of "the Holy Council in Nicæa, and that band of chosen men whom the HOLY GHOST brought together."—Orat. 21.

§ 6.—*Purgatory, Pardons, Images, Relics, Invocation of Saints.*

Article xxii.—“The Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons (de indulgentiis), worshipping (de veneratione) and adoration, as well of images as of relics, and also invocation of saints, is a fond thing (res est futilis) vainly (inaniter) invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant (contradicit) to the Word of God.”

Now the first remark that occurs on perusing this Article is, that the doctrine objected to is “the *Romish* doctrine.” For instance, no one would suppose that the *Calvinistic* doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, and image-worship, is spoken against. Not every doctrine on these matters is a fond thing, but the *Romish* doctrine. Accordingly, the *Primitive* doctrine is not condemned in it, unless, indeed, the *Primitive* doctrine be the *Romish*, which must not be supposed. Now there *was* a primitive doctrine on all these points,—how far Catholic or universal, is a further question,—but still so widely received and so respectably supported, that it may well be entertained as a matter of opinion by a theologian now; this, then, whatever be its merits, is not condemned by this Article.

This is clear without proof on the face of the matter, at least as regards pardons. Of course, the Article never meant to make light of *every* doctrine about pardons, but a certain doctrine, the *Romish* doctrine, [as indeed the plural form itself shows.]

And [such an understanding of the Article is supported by] some sentences in the Homily on Peril of Idolatry, in which, as far as regards relics, a *certain* “veneration” is sanctioned by its tone in speaking of them, though not of course the *Romish* veneration.

The sentences referred to run as follows:—

“In the Tripartite Ecclesiastical History, the Ninth Book, and Forty-eighth Chapter, is testified, that ‘Epiphanius, being yet alive, did work miracles: and that after his death, devils, *being expelled at his grave or tomb*, did roar.’ Thus you see what authority St. Jerome (who has just been mentioned) and that most ancient history give unto the holy and learned Bishop Epiphanius.”

Again :—

“ St. Ambrose, in his Treatise of the Death of Theodosius the Emperor, saith, ‘ Helena found the Cross, and the title on it. She worshipped the King, and not the wood, surely (for that is an heathenish error and the vanity of the wicked), but she worshipped Him that hanged on the Cross, and whose Name was written on the title,’ and so forth. See both the godly empress’s fact, and St. Ambrose’s judgment at once; they thought it had been an heathenish error, and vanity of the wicked, *to have worshipped the Cross itself, which was embued with our SAVIOUR CHRIST’S own precious blood.*”—*Peril of Idolatry, part 2, circ. init.*

In these passages the writer does not positively commit himself to the miracles at Epiphanius’s tomb, or the discovery of the true Cross, but he evidently wishes the hearer to think he believes in both. This he would not do, if he thought all honour paid to relics wrong.

If, then, in the judgment of the Homilies, not all doctrine concerning veneration of relics is condemned in the Article before us, but a certain toleration of them is compatible with its wording; neither is all doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, images, and saints, condemned by the Article, but only “ the Romish.”

And further by “ the Romish doctrine,” is not meant the Tridentine [statement], because this Article was drawn up before the decree of the Council of Trent. What is opposed is the *received doctrine* of the day, and unhappily of this day too, or the doctrine of the *Roman schools*; a conclusion which is still more clear, by considering that there are portions in the Tridentine [statements] on these subjects, which the Article, far from condemning, by anticipation approves, as far as they go. For instance, the Decree of Trent enjoins concerning purgatory thus :—“ Among the uneducated vulgar let *difficult and subtle questions*, which make not for edification, and seldom contribute aught towards piety, be kept back from popular discourses. Neither let them suffer the public mention and treatment of *uncertain points*, or such as *look like falsehood.*” Session 25. Again, about images : “ *Due honour and veneration is to be paid unto them, not that we believe that any divinity or virtue is in them, for which they should be worshipped (colendæ) or that we should ask any thing of them, or that trust should be reposed in images,*

as formerly was done by the Gentiles, which used to place their hope on idols."—*Ibid.*

If, then, the doctrine condemned in this Article concerning purgatory, pardons, images, relics, and saints, be not the Primitive doctrine, nor the Catholic doctrine, nor the Tridentine [statement,] but the Romish, *doctrina Romanensium*, let us next consider *what* in matter of fact it is. And

1. As to the doctrine of the Romanists concerning Purgatory.

Now here there *was* a primitive doctrine, whatever its merits, concerning the fire of judgment, which is a possible or a probable opinion, and is *not* condemned. That doctrine is this: that the conflagration of the world, or the flames which attend the Judge, will be an ordeal through which all men will pass; that great saints, such as St. Mary, will pass it unharmed; that others will suffer loss; but none will fail under it who are built upon the right foundation. Here is one [purgatorian doctrine] not "Romish."

Another doctrine, purgatorian, but not Romish, is that said to be maintained by the Greeks at Florence, in which the cleansing, though a punishment, was but a *pœna damni*, not a *pœna scusûs*; not a positive sensible infliction, much less the torment of fire, but the absence of God's presence. And another purgatory is that in which the cleansing is but a progressive sanctification, and has no pain at all.

None of these doctrines does the Article condemn; any of them may be held by the Anglo-Catholic as a matter of private belief; not that they are here advocated, one or other, but they are adduced as an *illustration* of what the Article does *not* mean, and to vindicate our Christian liberty in a matter where the Church has not confined it.

[For what the doctrine which is reprobated is, we might refer, in the first place, to the Council of Florence, where a decree was passed on the subject, were not that decree almost as vague as the Tridentine; viz., that deficiency of penance is made up by *pœnæ purgatoriæ*.]

"Now doth St. Augustine say, that those men which are cast into prison after this life, on that condition, may in no wise be holpen, though we would help them never so much. And why? Because the *sentence* of God is

unchangeable, and cannot be *revoked again*. Therefore let us not deceive ourselves, thinking that either we may help others, or others may help us, by their good and charitable prayers in time to come. For, as the preacher saith, ‘When the tree falleth, whether it be toward the south, or toward the north, in what place soever the tree falleth, there it lieth:’ meaning thereby, that every mortal man *dieth either in the state of salvation or damnation*, according as the words of the Evangelist John do plainly import, saying, ‘He that believeth on the SON of GOD hath eternal life; but he that believeth not on the SON, shall never see life, but the wrath of GOD abideth upon him;’—where is then the third place, which they call purgatory? Or where shall our prayers help and profit the dead? St. Augustine doth only acknowledge two places after this life, heaven and hell. As for the third place, he doth plainly deny that there is any such to be found in all Scripture. Chrysostom likewise is of this mind, that, unless we wash away our sins in this present world, we shall find no comfort afterward. And St. Cyprian saith, that, after death, repentance and sorrow of pain shall be without fruit, weeping also shall be in vain, and prayer shall be to no purpose. Therefore he counselleth all men to make provision for themselves while they may, because, when they are once departed out of this life, there is no place for *repentance*, nor yet for satisfaction.”—*Homily concerning Prayer*, pp. 282, 283.

Now it [would seem], from this passage, that the Purgatory contemplated by the Homily, was one for which no one will for an instant pretend to adduce even those Fathers who most favour Rome, *viz.* one *in which our state would be changed*, in which God’s sentence could be reversed. “The *sentence of God*,” says the writer, “is *unchangeable*, and cannot be revoked again; there is no place for *repentance*.” On the other hand, the Council of Trent, and Augustin and Cyprian, so far as they express or imply any opinion approximating to that of the Council, held Purgatory to be a place for *believers*, not unbelievers, not where men who have lived and *died in God’s wrath*, may gain pardon, but where those who have *already* been pardoned in this life, may be cleansed and purified for beholding the face of God. The Homily, then, and therefore the Article [as far as the Homily may be taken to explain it], does not speak of the ‘Tridentine purgatory.’

The mention of Prayers for the dead in the above passage, affords an additional illustration of the limited and [relative] sense of the terms of the Article now under consideration. For such prayers are obviously not condemned in it in the abstract, or in every shape, but *as offered to rescue the lost from eternal fire*.

[Hooker, in his Sermon on Pride, gives us a second view of the "Romish doctrine of Purgatory," from the schoolmen. After speaking of the *pœna damni*, he says—

"The other punishment, which hath in it not only loss of joy, but also sense of grief, vexation, and woe, is that whereunto they give the name of purgatory pains, *in nothing different from those very infernal torments which the souls of castaways, together with damned spirits do endure*, save only in this, there is an appointed term to the one, to the other none; but for the time they last they are equal."—Vol. iii. p. 798.]

Such doctrine, too, as the following may well be included in that which the Article condemns under the name of "Romish." The passage to be quoted has already appeared in these Tracts.

"In the 'Speculum Exemplorum' it is said, that a certain priest, in an ecstacy, saw the soul of Constantius Turritanus in the eaves of his house, tormented with frosts and cold rains, and afterwards climbing up to heaven upon a shining pillar. And a certain monk saw some souls roasted upon spits like pigs, and some devils basting them with scalding lard; but a while after, they were carried to a cool place, and so proved purgatory. But Bishop Theobald, standing upon a piece of ice to cool his feet, was nearer purgatory than he was aware, and was convinced of it, when he heard a poor soul telling him, that under that ice he was tormented; and that he should be delivered, if for thirty days continual, he would say for him thirty masses. And some such thing was seen by Conrade and Udalric in a pool of water; for the place of purgatory was not yet resolved on, till St. Patrick had the key of it delivered to him, which when one Nicholas borrowed of him, he saw as strange and true things there, as ever Virgil dreamed of in his purgatory, or Cicero in his dream of Scipio, or Plato in his Gorgias, or Phædo, who indeed are the surest authors to prove purgatory. But because to preach false stories was forbidden by the Council of Trent, there are yet remaining more certain arguments, even revelations made by angels, and the testimony of St. Odilio himself, who heard the devil complain, (and he had great reason surely) that the souls of dead men were daily snatched out of his hands, by the alms and prayers of the living; and the sister of St. Damianus, being too much pleased with hearing of a piper, told her brother, that she was to be tormented for fifteen days in purgatory.

"We do not think that the wise men in the Church of Rome believe these narratives; for if they did, they were not wise; but this we know, that by such stories the people were brought into a belief of it, and having served their turn of them, the master builders used them as false arches and centres, taking them away when the parts of the building were made firm and stable by authority."—*Jcr. Taylor, Works*, vol. x. pp. 151, 152.

Another specimen of doctrine, which no one will attempt to prove from Scripture, is the following:—

“ Eastwardly, between two walls, was a vast place of purgatory fixed, and beyond it a pond to rinse souls in that had waded through purgatory, the water being salt and cold beyond comparison. Over this purgatory St. Nicholas was the owner.

“ There was a mighty bridge, all beset with nails and spikes, and leading to the mount of joy ; on which mount was a stately church, seemingly capable to contain all the inhabitants of the world, and into which the souls were no sooner entered, but that they forgot all their former torments.

“ Returning to the first Church, there they found St. Michael the Archangel and the Apostles Peter and Paul. St. Michael caused all the white souls to pass through the flames, unharmed, to the mount of joy ; and those that had black and white spots, St. Peter led into purgatory to be purified.

“ In one part sate St. Paul, and the devil opposite to him with his guards, with a pair of scales between them, weighing all such souls as were all over black ; when upon turning a soul, the scale turned towards St. Paul, he sent it to purgatory, there to expiate its sins ; when towards the devil, his crew, with great triumph, plunged it into the flaming pit. . . .

“ The rustic likewise saw near the entrance of the town-hall, as it were, four streets ; the first was full of innumerable furnaces and cauldrons filled with flaming pitch and other liquids, and boiling of souls, whose heads were like those of black fishes in the seething liquor. The second had its cauldrons stored with snow and ice, to torment souls with horrid cold. The third had thereof boiling sulphur and other materials, affording the worst of stinks, for the vexing of souls that had wallowed in the filth of lust. The fourth had cauldrons of a most horrid salt and black water. Now sinners of all sorts were alternately tormented in these cauldrons.”—*Purgatory proved by Miracle, by S. Johnson*, pp. 8—10.

[Let it be considered, then, whether on the whole the “ Romish doctrine of Purgatory,” which the Article condemns, and which was generally believed in the Roman Church three centuries since, as well as now, viewed in its essence, be not the doctrine, that the punishment of unrighteous Christians is temporary, not eternal, and that the purification of the righteous is a portion of the same punishment, together with the superstitions, and impostures for the sake of gain, consequent thereupon.]

2. Pardons, or Indulgences.

The history of the rise of the Reformation will interpret “ the Romish doctrine concerning pardons,” without going further. Burnet thus speaks on the subject.

“ In the primitive church there were very severe rules made, obliging all that had sinned publicly (and they were afterwards applied to such as had sinned secretly) to continue for many years in a state of separation from the Sacrament,

and of penance and discipline. But because all such general rules admit of a great variety of circumstances, taken from men's sins, their persons, and their repentance, there was a power given to all Bishops, by the Council of Nice, to shorten the time, and to relax the severity of those Canons, and such favour as they saw cause to grant, was called *indulgence*. This was just and necessary, and was a provision without which no constitution or society can be well governed. But after the tenth century, as the Popes came to take this power in the whole extent of it into their own hands, so they found it too feeble to carry on the great designs that they grafted upon it.

“They gave it high names, and called it a plenary remission, and the pardon of all sins: which the world was taught to look on as a thing of a much higher nature, than the bare exusing of men from discipline and penance. Purgatory was then got to be firmly believed, and all men were strangely possessed with the terror of it: so a deliverance from purgatory, and by consequence an immediate admission into heaven, was believed to be the certain effect of it. Multitudes were, by these means, engaged to go to the Holy Land, to recover it out of the hands of the Saracens: afterwards they armed vast numbers against the heretics, to extirpate them: they fought also all those quarrels, which their ambitious pretensions engaged them in, with emperors and other princes, by the same pay; and at last *they set it to sale* with the same impudence, and almost with the same methods, that mountebanks use in venting of their secrets.

“This was so gross, even in an ignorant age, and among the ruder sort, that it gave the first rise to the Reformation: and as the progress of it was a very signal work of GOD, so it was in a great measure owing to the scandals that *this shameless practice* had given the world.”—*Burnet on Article XIV. p. 190.*

Again :—

“The virtue of indulgences is the applying the treasure of the Church upon *such terms* as Popes shall think fit to prescribe, in order to the redeeming souls from purgatory, and from all other temporal punishments, and that for such a number of years as shall be specified in the bulls; some of which have gone to thousands of years; one I have seen to ten hundred thousand: and as these indulgences are sometimes granted by special tickets, like tallies struck on that treasure; so sometimes they are affixed to particular churches and altars, to particular times, or days, chiefly to the year of jubilee; they are also affixed to such things as may be carried about, to Agnus Dei's, to medals, to rosaries, and scapularies; they are also affixed to some prayers, the devout saying of them being a mean to procure great indulgences. The granting these is left to the Pope's discretion, who ought to distribute them as he thinks may tend most to the honour of GOD and the good of the Church; and he ought not to be too profuse, much less to be too scanty in dispensing them.

“This has been the received doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome since the twelfth century; and the Council of Trent, in a hurry, in its last session, did, *in very general words*, approve of the practice of the Church in this

matter, and decreed that indulgences should be continued; only *they restrained some abuses*, in particular that of *selling* them.”—*Burnet on Article XXII.* p. 305.

Burnet goes on to maintain that the act of the Council was incomplete and evaded. If it be necessary to say more on the subject, let us attend to the following passage from Jeremy Taylor:—

“ I might have instanced in worse matters, made by the Popes of Rome to be pious works, the condition of obtaining indulgences. Such as was the bull of Pope Julius the Second, giving indulgence to him that meeting a Frenchman should kill him, and another for the killing of a Venetian. . . . I desire this only instance may be added to it, that Pope Paul the Third, he that convened the Council of Trent, and Julius the Third, for fear, as I may suppose, the Council should forbid any more such follies, for a farewell to this game, gave an indulgence to the fraternity of the Sacrament of the Altar, or of the Blessed Body of Our LORD JESUS CHRIST, of such a vastness and unreasonable folly, that it puts us beyond the question of religion, to an inquiry, whether it were not done either in perfect distraction, or, with a worse design, to make religion to be ridiculous, and to expose it to a contempt and scorn. The conditions of the indulgence are, either to visit the Church of St. Hilary of Chartres, to say a ‘ Pater Noster’ and an ‘ Ave Mary’ every Friday, or, at most, to be present at processions and other divine service upon ‘ Corpus Christi day.’ The gift is—as many privileges, indults, exemptions, liberties, immunities, plenary pardons of sins, and other spiritual graces, as were given to the fraternity of the Image of our SAVIOUR ‘ ad Sancta Sanctorum;’ the fraternity of the charity and great hospital of St. James in Augusta, of St. John Baptist, of St. Cosmas and Damianus; of the Florentine nation; of the hospital of the HOLY GHOST in Saxia; of the order of St. Austin and St. Champ; of the fraternities of the said city; of the churches of our Lady ‘ de populo et verbo;’ and all those that were ever given to them that visited these churches, or those which should ever be given hereafter—a pretty large gift! In which there were so many pardons, quarter-pardons, half-pardons, true pardons, plenary pardons, quarantines, and years of quarantines; that it is a harder thing to number them, than to purchase them. I shall remark in these some particulars to be considered.

“ 1. That a most scandalous and unchristian dissolution and death of all ecclesiastical discipline, is consequent to the making all sin so cheap and trivial a thing; that the horrible demerits and exemplary punishment and remotion of scandal and satisfactions to the Church, are indeed reduced to trifling and mock penances. He that shall send a servant with a candle to attend the holy Sacrament, when it shall be carried to sick people, or shall go himself; or, if he can neither go nor send, if he say a ‘ Pater Noster’ and an ‘ Ave,’ he shall have a hundred years of true pardon. This is fair and easy. But then,

“ 2. It would be considered what is meant by so many years of pardon, and so many years of true pardon. I know but of one natural interpretation of it;

and that it can mean nothing, but that some of the pardons are but fantastical, and not true; and in this I find no fault, save only that it ought to have been said, that all of them are fantastical.

“ 3. It were fit we learned how to compute four thousand and eight hundred years of quarantines, and a remission of a third part of all their sins; for so much is given to every brother and sister of this fraternity, upon Easter-day, and eight days after. Now if a brother needs not thus many, it would be considered whether it did not encourage a brother or a frail sister to use all their medicine, and sin more freely, lest so great a gift become useless.

“ 4. And this is so much the more considerable because the gift is vast beyond all imagination. The first four days in Lent they may purchase thirty-three thousand years of pardon, besides a plenary remission of all their sins over and above. The first week of Lent a hundred and three-and-thirty thousand years of pardon, besides five plenary remissions of all their sins, and two third parts besides, and the delivery of one soul out of purgatory. The second week in Lent a hundred and eight-and-fifty thousand years of pardon, besides the remission of all their sins, and a third part besides; and the delivery of one soul. The third week in Lent, eighty thousand years, besides a plenary remission, and the delivery of one soul out of purgatory. The fourth week in Lent, threescore thousand years of pardon, besides a remission of two-thirds of all their sins, and one plenary remission, and one soul delivered. The fifth week, seventy-nine thousand years of pardon, and the deliverance of two souls; only the two thousand seven hundred years that are given for the Sunday, may be had twice that day, if they will visit the altar twice, and as many quarantines. The sixth week, two hundred and five thousand years, besides quarantines, and four plenary pardons. Only on Palm Sunday, whose portion is twenty-five thousand years, it may be had twice that day. And all this is the price of him that shall, upon these days, visit the altar in the church of St. Hilary. And this runs on to the Fridays, and many festivals, and other solemn days in the other parts of the year.”—*Jer. Taylor*, vol. xi. p. 53—56.

[The doctrine then of pardons, spoken of in the Article, is the doctrine maintained and acted on in the Roman Church, that remission of the penalties of sin in the next life may be obtained by the power of the Pope, with such abuses as money payments consequent thereupon¹.]

3. Veneration and worshipping of Images and Relics.

That the Homilies do not altogether discard reverence towards relics, has already been shown. Now let us see what they do discard.

“ What meaneth it that Christian men, after the use of the Gentiles idolaters, *cap and kneel* before images? which, if they had any sense and gratitude,

¹ “ The pardons then, spoken of in the Article, are large and reckless indulgences from the penalties of sin obtained on money payments.” 1st ed.

would kneel before men, carpenters, masons, plasterers, founders, and goldsmiths, their makers and framers, by whose means they have attained this honour, which else should have been evil-favoured, and rude lumps of clay or plaster, pieces of timber, stone, or metal, without shape or fashion, and so without all estimation and honour, as that idol in the Pagan poet confesseth, saying, ‘ I was once a vile block, but now I am become a god,’ &c. What a fond thing is it for man, who hath life and reason, to bow himself to a dead and insensible image, the work of his own hand! Is not this stooping and kneeling before them, which is forbidden so earnestly by GOD’s word? Let such as so fall down before images of saints, know and confess that they exhibit that honour to dead stocks and stones, which the saints themselves, Peter, Paul, and Barnabas, would not to be given to them, being alive; which the angel of GOD forbiddeth to be given to him. And if they say they exhibit such honour not to the image, but to the saint whom it representeth, they are convicted of folly, to believe that they please saints with that honour, which they abhor as a spoil of GOD’s honour.”—*Homily on Peril of Idolatry*, p. 191.

Again :

“ Thus far Lactantius, and much more, too long here to write, of *candle lighting* in temples before images and idols for religion; whereby appeareth both the foolishness thereof, and also that in opinion and act we do agree altogether in our candle-religion with the Gentiles idolaters. What meaneth it that they, after the example of the Gentiles idolaters, *burn incense, offer up gold* to images, *hang up crutches*, chains, and ships, legs, arms, and whole men and women of wax, before images, as though by them, or saints (as they say) they were delivered from lameness, sickness, captivity, or shipwreck? Is not this ‘ *colere imagines*,’ to worship images, so earnestly forbidden in GOD’s word? If they deny it, let them read the eleventh chapter of Daniel the Prophet, who saith of Antichrist, ‘ He shall worship GOD, whom his fathers knew not, with gold, silver, and with precious stones, and other things of pleasure:’ in which place the Latin word is *colet*.” “ To increase this madness, wicked men, which have the keeping of such images, for their great lucre and advantage, after the example of the Gentiles idolaters, have reported and spread abroad, as well by *lying tales* as written fables, divers miracles of images: as that such an image miraculously was sent from heaven, even like the Palladium, or Magna Diana Ephesiorum. Such another was as miraculously found in the earth, as the man’s head was in the Capitol, or the horse’s head in Capua. Such an image was brought by angels. Such an one came itself far from the East to the West, as Dame Fortune fled to Rome. Such an image of our Lady was painted by St. Luke, whom of a physican they have made a painter for that purpose. Such an one an hundred yokes of oxen could not move, like Bona Dea, whom the ship could not carry; or Jupiter Olympius, which laughed the artificers to scorn, that went about to remove him to Rome. Some images, though they were hard and stony, yet, for tender heart and pity, wept. Some, like Castor and Pollux, helping their friends in battle, sweat, as marble pillars do in dankish weather. Some spake more monstrously than ever did Balaam’s ass, who

had life and breath in him. Such a cripple came and saluted this saint of oak, and by and by he was made whole; and, lo! here hangeth his crutch. Such an one in a tempest vowed to St. Christopher, and 'scaped; and behold, here is a ship of wax. Such an one, by St. Leonard's help, brake out of prison, and see where his fetters hang." "The Relics we must kiss and *offer unto*, specially on Relic Sunday. And while we offer, (that we should not be weary, or repent us of our cost,) the *music* and *minstrelsy* goeth merrily all the offertory time, with praising and calling upon those saints, whose relics be then in presence. Yea, and the water also, wherein those relics have been dipped, must with great reverence be reserved, as very holy and effectuous." "Because Relics were so gainful, few places were there but they had Relics provided for them. And for more *plenty* of Relics, some one saint had many heads, one in one place, and another in another place. Some had six arms, and twenty-six fingers. And where our LORD bare His cross alone, if all the pieces of the relics thereof were gathered together, the greatest ship in England would scarcely bear them; and yet the greatest part of it, they say, doth yet remain in the hands of the Infidels; for the which they pray in their beads-bidding, that they may get it also into their hands, for such godly use and purpose. And not only the bones of the saints, but every thing appertaining to them, was a holy relic. In some place they offer a sword, in some the scabbard, in some a shoe, in some a saddle that had been set upon some holy horse, in some the coals wherewith St. Laurence was roasted, in some place the tail of the ass which our LORD JESUS CHRIST sat on, to be *kissed and offered unto* for a relic. For rather than they would lack a relic, they would offer you a *horse bone instead of a virgin's arm*, or the tail of the ass to be *kissed and offered unto* for relics. O wicked, impudent, and most shameless men, the devisers of these things! O silly, foolish, and dastardly daws, and more beastly than the ass whose tail they kissed, that believe such things!" "Of these things already rehearsed, it is evident that our image maintainers have not only made images, and set them up in temples, as did the Gentiles idolaters their idols; but also that they have had the same idolatrous opinions of the saints, to whom they have made images, which the Gentiles idolaters had of their false gods; and have not only *worshipped* their images with the same rites, ceremonies, superstition, and all circumstances, as did the Gentiles idolaters their idols, but in many points have also far exceeded them in all wickedness, foolishness, and madness."—*Homily on Peril of Idolatry*, p. 193—197.

It will be observed that in this extract, as elsewhere in the Homilies, it is implied that the Bishop or the Church of Rome is Antichrist; but this is a statement bearing on prophetic interpretation, not on doctrine; and one besides which cannot be reasonably brought to illustrate or explain any of the positions of the Articles; and therefore it may be suitably passed over.

In another place the Homilies speak as follows :

“Our churches stand full of such great puppets, *wondrously decked and adorned*; garlands and coronets be set on their heads, precious pearls hanging about their necks; their fingers shine with rings, set with precious stones; their dead and stiff bodies are clothed with garments stiff with gold. You would believe that the images of our men-saints were some princes of Persia land with their proud apparel; and the idols of our women-saints were *nice and well-trimmed harlots, tempting their paramours to wantonness*: whereby the saints of GOD are not honoured, but most dishonoured, and their godliness soberness, chastity, contempt of riches, and of the vanity of the world, defaced and brought in doubt by such *monstrous decking*, most differing from their sober and godly lives. And because the whole pageant must thoroughly be played, it is not enough thus to deck idols, but at last come in the priests themselves, likewise decked with gold and pearl, that they may be meet servants for such lords and ladies, and fit worshippers of such gods and goddesses. And with a solemn pace they pass forth before these *golden puppets*, and *fall down* to the ground on their marrow-bones before these honourable idols; and then rising up again, *offer up odours and incense* unto them, to give the people an example of double idolatry, by worshipping not only the idol, but the gold also, and riches, wherewith it is garnished. Which thing, the most part of our old Martyrs, rather than they would do, or once *kneel*, or *offer up* one crumb of *incense* before an image, suffered most cruel and terrible deaths, as the histories of them at large do declare.” “O books and scriptures, in the which the devilish schoolmaster, Satan, hath penned the lewd lessons of wicked idolatry, for his dastardly disciples and scholars to behold, read, and learn, to GOD’s most high dishonour, and their most horrible damnation! Have we not been much bound, think you, to those which should have taught us the truth out of GOD’s Book and his Holy Scripture, that they have shut up that Book and Scripture from us, and none of us so bold as once to open it, or read in it? And instead thereof, to spread us abroad these goodly, carved, and gilded books and painted scriptures, to teach us such good and godly lessons? Have not they done well, after they ceased to stand in pulpits themselves, and to teach the people committed to their instruction, keeping silence of GOD’s word, and become dumb dogs, (as the Prophet calleth them,) to set up in their stead, on every pillar and corner of the church, such goodly doctors, as dumb, but more wicked than themselves be? We need not to complain of the lack of one dumb parson, having so many dumb devilish vicars (I mean these idols and painted puppets) to teach in their stead. Now in the mean season, whilst the dumb and dead idols stand thus *decked and clothed*, contrary to GOD’s law and commandment, the poor Christian people, the lively images of GOD, commended to us so tenderly by our SAVIOUR CHRIST, as most dear to Him, stand naked, shivering for cold, and their teeth chattering in their heads, and no man covereth them, are pined with hunger and thirst, and no man giveth them a penny to refresh them;

whereas pounds be ready at all times (contrary to GOD's word and will) to *deck and trim* dead stocks and stones, which neither feel cold, hunger, nor thirst."—*Homily on Peril of Idolatry*, p. 219—222.

Again, with a covert allusion to the abuses of the day, the Homilist says elsewhere, of Scripture,

"There shall you read of Baal, Moloch, Chamos, Melchom, Baalpeor, Astaroth, Bel, the Dragon, Priapus, the brazen Serpent, the twelve Signs, and many others, unto whose images the people, with great devotion, invented *pilgrimages*, *precious decking* and *censing* them, *kneeling down* and *offering* to them, thinking that an high merit before GOD, and to be esteemed above the precepts and commandments of GOD."—*Homily on Good Works*, p. 42.

Again, soon after :

"What man, having any judgment or learning, joined with a true zeal unto GOD, doth not see and lament to have entered into CHRIST's religion, such false doctrine, superstition, idolatry, hypocrisy, and other enormities and abuses, so as by little and little, through the sour leaven thereof, the sweet bread of GOD's holy word hath been much hindered and laid apart? Never had the Jews, in their most blindness, so many *pilgrimages* unto images, nor used so much *kneeling*, *kissing*, and *censing* of them, as hath been used in our time. Sects and feigned religions were neither the fortieth part so many among the Jews, nor more superstitiously and ungodly abused, than of late years they have been among us: which sects and religions had so many hypocritical and feigned works in their state of religion, as they arrogantly named it, that their lamps, as they said, ran always over, able to satisfy not only for their own sins, but also for all other their benefactors, brothers, and sisters of religion, as most ungodly and craftily they had persuaded the multitude of ignorant people; keeping in divers places, as it were, marts or markets of merits, being full of their holy relics, images, shrines, and works of overflowing abundance, ready to be sold; and all things which they had were called holy—holy cowls, holy girdles, holy pardons, holy beads, holy shoes, holy rules, and all full of holiness. And what thing can be more foolish, more superstitious, or ungodly, than that men, women, and children, should wear a friar's coat to deliver them from agues or pestilence; or when they die, or when they be buried, cause it to be cast upon them, *in hope thereby to be saved*? Which superstition, although (thanks be to GOD) it hath been little used in this realm, yet in divers other realms it hath been, and yet is, used among many, both learned and unlearned."—*Homily on Good Works*, pp. 45, 46.

[Once more :—

"True religion then, and pleasing of GOD, standeth not in making, setting up, painting, gilding, clothing, and decking of dumb and dead images (which be but great puppets and babies for old fools in dotage, and wicked idolatry, to dally and play with), nor in kissing of them, capping, kneeling, offering to them,

incensing of them, setting up of candles, hanging up of legs, arms, or whole bodies of wax before them, or praying or asking of them, or of saints, things belonging only to GOD to give. But all these things be vain and abominable, and most damnable before GOD."—*Homily on Peril of Idolatry*, p. 223.]

Now the veneration and worship condemned in these and other passages are such as these : kneeling before images, lighting candles to them, offering them incense, going on pilgrimage to them, hanging up crutches, &c. before them, lying tales about them, belief in miracles as if wrought by them through illusion of the devil, decking them up immodestly, and providing incentives by them to bad passions ; and, in like manner, merry music and minstrelsy, and licentious practices in honour of relics, counterfeit relics, multiplication of them, absurd pretences about them. This is what the Article means by "the Romish doctrine," which, in agreement to one of the above extracts, it calls "a fond thing," *res futilis* ; for who can ever hope, except the grossest and most blinded minds, to be gaining the favour of the blessed saints, while they come with unchaste thoughts and eyes, that cannot cease from sin ; and to be profited by "pilgrimage-going," in which "Lady Venus and her son Cupid were rather worshipped wantonly in the flesh, than GOD the FATHER, and our SAVIOUR CHRIST HIS SON, truly worshipped in the SPIRIT?"

Here again it is remarkable that, urged by the truth of the allegation, the Council of Trent is obliged, both to confess the above-mentioned enormities in the veneration of relics and images, and to forbid them :

"Into these holy and salutary observances should any abuses creep, of these the Holy Council strongly [vehementer] desires the utter extinction ; so that no images of a false doctrine, and supplying to the uninstructed opportunity of perilous error, should be set up. . . . All superstition also in invocation of saints, veneration of relics, and sacred use of images, be put away ; all *filthy lucre* be cast out of doors ; and *all wantonness* be avoided ; so that images be not painted or adorned with an immodest beauty ; or the celebration of Saints and attendance on Relics be abused to revelries and drunkennesses ; as though festival days were kept in honour of saints by *luxury and lasciviousness*."—*Sess. 25*.

[On the whole, then, by the Romish doctrine of the veneration and worshipping of images and relics, the article means all maintenance of those idolatrous honours which have been and are paid

them so commonly throughout the church of Rome, with the superstitions, profanities, and impurities consequent thereupon.]

4. Invocation of Saints.

By "invocation" here is not meant the mere circumstance of addressing beings out of sight, because we use the Psalms in our daily service, which are frequent in invocations of Angels to praise and bless God. In the Benedicite too we address "the spirits and souls of the righteous."

Nor is it a "fond" invocation to pray that unseen beings may bless us; for this [Bishop Ken does in his Evening Hymn:—

O may my Guardian, while I sleep,
Close to my bed his vigils keep,
His love angelical *instil*,
Stop all the avenues of ill, &c.]¹

On the other hand, judging from the example set us in the Homilies themselves, invocations are not censurable, and certainly not "fond," if we mean nothing definite by them, addressing them to beings which we *know* cannot hear, and using them as interjections. The Homilist seems to avail himself of this proviso in a passage, which will serve to begin our extracts in illustration of the *superstitious* use of invocations.

"We have left Him neither heaven, nor earth, nor water, nor country, nor city, peace nor war to rule and govern, neither men, nor beasts, nor their diseases to cure; that a godly man might justly, for zealous indignation, cry out, *O heaven, O earth, and seas*², what madness and wickedness against GOD are men fallen into! What dishonour do the creatures to their CREATOR and MAKER! And if we remember GOD sometimes, yet, because we doubt of His ability or will to help, we join to Him another helper, as if He were a noun adjective, using these sayings: such as learn, GOD and St. Nicholas be my speed: such as neese, GOD help and St. John: to the horse, GOD and St. Loy save thee. Thus are we become like horses and mules, which have no understanding. For is there not one GOD only, who by His power and wisdom made all things, and by His providence governeth the same, and by His goodness maintaineth and saveth them? Be not all things of Him, by Him, and through Him? Why dost thou *turn from the CREATOR to the creatures*? This is the manner of the Gentiles idolaters: but thou art a Christian, and therefore by CHRIST alone hast access to GOD the FATHER, and help of Him only."—*Homily on Peril of Idolatry*, p. 189.

¹ [A passage here occurred in 1st edition upon Rev. i. 4.]

² O cœluni, o terra, o maria Neptuni. *Terent. Adolph.* v. 3.

Again, just before—

“Terentius Varro sheweth, that there were three hundred Jupiters in his time: there were no fewer Veneres and Dianæ: we had no fewer Christophers, Ladies, and Mary Magdalens, and other saints. CEnomaus and Hesiodus shew, that in their time there were thirty thousand gods. I think we had no fewer saints, to whom we gave the honour due to GOD. And they have not only spoiled the true living GOD of his due honour in temples, cities, countries, and lands, by such devices and inventions as the Gentiles idolaters have done before them: but the sea and waters have as well special saints with them, as they had gods with the Gentiles, Neptune, Triton, Nereus, Castor and Pollux, Venus, and such other: in whose places become St. Christopher, St. Clement, and divers other, and specially our Lady, to whom shipmen sing, ‘Ave, maris stella.’ Neither hath the fire escaped their idolatrous inventions. For, instead of Vulcan and Vesta, the Gentiles’ gods of the fire, our men have placed St. Agatha, and make litters on her day for to quench fire with. Every artificer and profession hath his special saint, as a peculiar god. As for example, scholars have St. Nicholas and St. Gregory: painters, St. Luke; neither lack soldiers their Mars, nor lovers their Venus, amongst Christians. All diseases have their special saints, as gods the curers of them; the falling-evil St. Cornelio, the tooth-ache St. Apollin, &c. Neither do beasts nor cattle lack their gods with us; for St. Loy is the horse-leech, and St. Anthony the swineherd.’ —*Ibid.*, p. 188.

The same subject is introduced in connexion with a lament over the falling off of attendance on religious worship consequent upon the Reformation:

“God’s vengeance hath been and is daily provoked, because much wicked people pass nothing to resort to the Church, either for that they are so sore blinded, that they understand nothing of GOD and godliness, and care not with devilish example to offend their neighbours; or else for that they see the Church altogether scoured of such *gay gazing sights*, as their gross fantasy was greatly delighted with, because they see the false religion abandoned, and the true restored, which seemeth an unsavoury thing to their unsavoury taste; as may appear by this, that a woman said to her neighbour, ‘Alas, gossip, what shall we now do at church, since all the saints are taken away, since all the *goodly sights* we were wont to have are gone, since we cannot hear the like *piping, singing, chanting, and playing upon the organs*, that we could before?’ But, dearly beloved, we ought greatly to rejoice, and give GOD thanks, that our churches are delivered of all those things which displeased GOD so sore, and *filthily defiled* his house and his place of prayer, for the which he hath justly destroyed many nations, according to the saying of St. Paul: ‘If any man defile the temple of God, GOD will him destroy.’ And this ought we greatly to praise GOD for, that *superstitious and idolatrous* manners as were utterly naught, and defaced GOD’s glory, are utterly abolished, as they most justly deserved: and yet those things that either GOD was honoured with, or his

people edified, are decently retained, and in our churches comely practised.”—
On the Place and Time of Prayer, pp. 293, 294.

Again :

“ There are certain conditions most requisite to be found in every such a one that must be called upon, which if they be not found in Him unto whom we pray, then doth our prayer avail us nothing, but is altogether in vain.

“ The first is this, that He, to whom we make our prayers, be able to help us. The second is, that He will help us. The third is, that He be such a one as may hear our prayers. The fourth is, that He understand better than ourselves what we lack, and how far we have need of help. If these things be to be found in any other, saving only GOD, then may we lawfully call upon some other besides GOD. But what man is so gross, but he well understandeth that these things are only proper to Him who is omnipotent, and knoweth all things, even the very secrets of the heart ; that is to say, only and to GOD alone ? Whereof it followeth that we must call neither upon angel, nor yet upon saint, but only and solely upon GOD, as St. Paul doth write : ‘ How sha’l men call upon Him, in whom they have not believed ?’ So that *invocation* or *prayer* may not be made without faith in Him on whom they call ; but that we must first *believe* in Him before we can make our prayer unto Him, whereupon we must only and solely pray unto GOD. For to say that we should *believe* in either angel or saint, or in any other living creature, were *most horrible blasphemy* against GOD and his holy word ; neither ought this fancy to enter into the heart of any Christian man, because we are expressly taught in the word of the LORD only to repose our faith in the blessed TRINITY, in whose only name we are also baptized, according to the express commandment of our SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, in the last of St. Matthew.

“ But that the truth hereof may better appear, even to them that be most simple and unlearned, let us consider what prayer is. St. Augustine calleth it a lifting up of the mind to GOD ; that is to say, an humble and lowly pouring out of the heart to GOD. Isidorus saith, that it is an affection of the heart, and not a labour of the lips. So that, by these plans, true prayer doth consist not so much in the outward sound and voice of words, as in the inward groaning and crying of the heart to GOD.

“ Now, then, is there any angel, any virgin, any patriarch, or prophet, among the dead, that can understand or know the meaning of the heart ? The Scripture saith, ‘ it is GOD that searcheth the heart and reins, and that He only knoweth the hearts of the children of men.’ As for the saints, they have so little knowledge of the secrets of the heart, that many of the ancient fathers greatly doubt whether they know any thing at all, that is commonly done on earth. And albeit some think they do, yet St. Augustine, a doctor of great authority, and also antiquity, hath this opinion of them ; that they know no more what we do on earth, than we know what they do in heaven. For proof whereof, he allegeth the words of Isaiah the prophet, where it is said, ‘ Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knoweth us not.’ His mind therefore is this,

not that we should put any religion in *worshipping* them, or *praying* unto them; but that we should honour them by following their virtuous and godly life. For, as he witnesseth in another place, the martyrs, and holy men in time past, were wont, after their death, to be *remembered* and *named* of the priest at divine service; but never to be *invoked* or *called upon*. And why so? Because the priest, saith he, is GOD'S priest, and not theirs: whereby he is bound to call upon GOD, and not upon them. . . . O but I dare not (will some man say) trouble GOD at all times with my prayers: we see that in king's houses, and courts of princes, men cannot be admitted, unless they first use the help and means of some special nobleman, to come to the speech of the king, and to obtain the thing that they would have.

"CHRIST, sitting in heaven, hath an everlasting priesthood, and always prayeth to His FATHER for them that be penitent, obtaining, by virtue of His wounds, which are evermore in the sight of GOD, not only perfect remission of our sins, but also all other necessaries that we lack in this world; so that this Holy Mediator is sufficient in heaven, and needeth no others to help Him.

"Invocation is a thing *proper unto* GOD, which if we attribute unto the saints, it soundeth unto their reproach, neither can they well bear it at our hands. When Paul healed a certain lame man, which was impotent in his feet, at Lystra, the people would have *done sacrifice* unto him and Barnabas; who, rending their clothes, refused it, and exhorted them to *worship* the true GOD. Likewise in the Revelation, when St. John *fell before the angel's feet to worship him*, the angel would not permit him to do it, but commanded him that he should worship GOD. Which examples declare unto us, that the saints and angels in heaven will not have us to do *any honour* unto them, *that is due and proper unto* GOD."—*Homily on Prayer*, p. 272—277.

Whereas, then, it has already been shown that not *all* invocation is wrong, this last passage plainly tells us *what kind* of invocation is not allowable, or what is meant by invocation in its exceptionable sense: viz. "a thing proper to GOD," as being part of the "honour that is due and proper unto GOD." And two instances are specially given of such calling and invoking, viz., *sacrificing*, and *falling down in worship*. Besides this, the Homilist adds, that it is wrong to pray to them for "necessaries in this world," and to accompany their services with "piping, singing, chanting, and playing" on the organ, and of invoking saints as patrons of particular elements, countries, arts, or remedies.

Here again, as before, the Article gains a witness and concurrence from the Council of Trent. "Though," say the divines there assembled, "the Church has been accustomed sometimes to

celebrate a few masses to the honour and remembrance of saints, yet she *doth not teach that sacrifice is offered to them*, but to God alone, who crowned them; wherefore neither is the priest wont to say, *I offer sacrifice to thee, O Peter, or O Paul, but to God.*" (Sess. 22.)

Or, to know what is meant by fond invocations, we may refer to the following passage of Bishop Andrews' answer to Cardinal Perron:—

"This one point is needful to be observed throughout all the Cardinal's answer, that he hath framed to himself five distinctions:—(1.) Prayer *direct*, and prayer *oblique*, or indirect. (2.) Prayer *absolute*, and prayer *relative*. (3.) Prayer *sovereign*, and prayer *subaltern*. (4.) Prayer *final*, and prayer *transitory*. (5.) Prayer *sacrificial*, and prayer *out of*, or *from the sacrifice*. Prayer *direct*, *absolute*, *final*, *sovereign*, *sacrificial*, that must not be made to the saints, but to GOD only: but as for *prayer oblique*, *relative*, *transitory*, *subaltern*, *from*, or *out of the sacrifice*, that (saith he) we may make to the saints.

"For all the world, like the question in Scotland, which was made some fifty years since, whether the *Pater noster* might not be said to *saints*. For then they in like sort devised the distinction of—(1.) *Ultimate*, et *non ultimate*. (2.) *Principaliter*, et *minus principaliter*. (3.) *Primarie et secundarie: Capiendo stricte et capiendo large*. And as for *ultimate*, *principaliter*, *primarie et capiendo stricte*, they concluded it must go to God: but *non ultimate*, *minus principaliter*, *secundarie, et capiendo large*, it might be allowed *saints*.

"Yet it is sure, that in these distinctions is the whole substance of his answer. And whensoever he is pressed, he flees straight to his *prayer relative* and *prayer transitory*; as if *prier pour prier*, were all the Church of Rome did hold; and that they made no prayers to the saints, but only to pray for them. The Bishop well remembers, that Master Casaubon more than once told him that reasoning with the Cardinal, touching the invocation of saints, the Cardinal freely confessed to him *that he had never prayed to saint in all his life, save only when he happened to follow the procession*; and that then he sung *Ora pro nobis* with the clerks indeed, *but else not*.

"Which cometh much to this opinion he now seemeth to defend: but wherein *others* of the Church of Rome will surely give him over, so that it is to be feared that the Cardinal will be shent for this, and *some censure come out against him* by the Sorbonne. For the world cannot believe that *oblique relative* prayer is all that is sought; seeing it is most evident, by their breviaries, hours, and rosaries, that they pray *directly, absolutely, and finally to saints*, and make no mention at all of *prier pour prier*, to pray to GOD to forgive them; but to the saints, to give it themselves. So that all he saith comes to nothing. They say to the blessed Virgin, 'Sancta Maria,' not only 'Ora pro nobis: ' but 'Succurre miseris, juva pusillanimes, resolve flebiles, accipe quod offerimus, dona quod rogamus, excusa quod timemus,' &c. &c. . . .

“All which, and many more, shew plainly that the *practice* of the Church of Rome, in this point of invocation of saints is far otherwise than Cardinal Perron would bear the world in hand: and that *prier pour prier*, is not all, but that ‘Tu dona cœlum, Tu laxa, Tu sana, Tu solve crimina, Tu duc, conduc, induc, perduc ad gloriam; Tu serva, Tu fer opem, Tu aufer, Tu confer vitam,’ are said to them (*totidem verbis*): more than which cannot be said to GOD himself. And again, ‘Hic nos solvat à peccatis, Hic nostros tergat reatus, Hic arma conferat, Hic hostem fuget, Hæc gubernet, Hic aptet tuo conspectui;’ which if they be not *direct* and *absolute*, it would be asked of them, what is *absolute* or *direct*?”—*Bishop Andrews’s Answer to Chapter XX. of Cardinal Perron’s Reply*, p. 57—62.

Bellarmino’s admissions quite bear out the principles laid down by Bishop Andrews and the Homilist:—

“It is not lawful,” he says, “to ask of the saints to grant to us, as if they were the *authors* of divine benefits, glory or grace, or the other means of blessedness. This is proved, first, from Scripture, ‘The LORD will give grace and glory.’ (Psal. lxxxiv.) Secondly, from the usage of the Church; for in the mass-prayers, and the saints’ offices, we never ask any thing else, but that at their prayers, benefits may be granted to us by GOD. Thirdly, from reason: for *what we need surpasses the powers of the creature*, and therefore even of saints; therefore we ought to ask nothing of saints beyond their impetrating from GOD what is profitable for us. Fourthly, from Augustine and Theodoret, who expressly teach that saints are not to be invoked *as gods*, but as able to gain from GOD what they wish. However, it must be observed, when we say, that nothing should be asked of saints but their prayers for us, the question is not about the words, but the *sense* of the words. For, as far as words go, *it is lawful* to say: ‘St. Peter, pity me, save me, open for me the gate of heaven;’ also, ‘give me health of body, patience, fortitude,’ &c., provided that we mean ‘save and pity me *by praying for me*;’ ‘grant me this or that *by thy prayers and merits*.’ For so speaks Gregory Nazianzen, and many others of the ancients, &c.”—*De Sancti. Beat. i. 17.*

[By the doctrine of the invocation of saints then, the article means all maintenance of addresses to them which entrench upon the incommunicable honour due to GOD alone, such as have been, and are in the church of Rome, and such as, equally with the peculiar doctrine of purgatory, pardons, and worshipping and adoration of images and relics, as actually taught in that church, are unknown to the Catholic Church.]

§ 7.—*The Sacraments.*

Art. xxv.—“Those five, commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown, partly of the corrupt following (*pravâ imitatione*) of the Apostles, partly from states of life allowed in the Scriptures; but yet have not like nature of sacraments, (*sacramentorum eandem rationem,*) with Baptism and the LORD’s Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of GOD.”

This Article does not deny the five rites in question to be sacraments, but to be sacraments in *the sense* in which Baptism and the Lord’s Supper are sacraments; “sacraments of *the Gospel*,” sacraments *with an outward sign ordained of GOD*.

They are not sacraments in *any sense*, unless the Church has the power of dispensing grace through rites of its own appointing, or is endued with the gift of blessing and hallowing the “rites or ceremonies” which, according to the twentieth article, it “hath power to decree.” But we may well believe that the Church has this gift.

If, then, a sacrament be merely *an outward sign of an invisible grace given under it*, the five rites may be sacraments; but if it must be an outward sign *ordained by GOD or CHRIST*, then only Baptism and the LORD’s Supper are sacraments.

Our Church acknowledges both definitions;—in the article before us, *the stricter*; and again in the Catechism, where a sacrament is defined to be “an outward visible sign of an inward spiritual grace, given unto us, *ordained by CHRIST himself*.” And this, it should be remarked, is a characteristic of our formularies in various places, not to deny the *truth or obligation* of certain doctrines or ordinances, but simply to deny, (what no Roman opponent now can successfully maintain,) that CHRIST

for certain directly ordained them. For instance, in regard to the visible Church it is sufficient that the ministration of the sacraments should be "*according to CHRIST's ordinance.*" Art. xix.—And it is added, "in all those things that *of necessity* are requisite to the same." The question entertained is, what is *the least* that GOD requires of us. Again, "the baptism of young children is to be retained, as most agreeable to *the institution of CHRIST.*" Art. xxvii.—Again, "the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by CHRIST's *ordinance* reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped." Art. xxviii.—Who will maintain the paradox that what the Apostles "set in order when they came" had been already done by CHRIST? Again, "both parts of the LORD's sacrament, *by CHRIST's ordinance and commandment*, ought to be administered to all Christian men alike." Art. xxx.—Again, "bishops, priests, and deacons, *are not commanded by GOD's law* either to vow the estate of single life or to abstain from marriage." Art. xxxii.—[In making this distinction, however, it is not here insinuated, though the question is not entered on in these particular articles, that every one of these points, of which it is only said that they are not ordained by CHRIST, is justifiable on grounds short of His appointment.]

On the other hand, our Church takes the *nider* sense of the meaning of the word sacrament in the Homilies; observing—

"In the second Book against the Adversary of the Law and the Prophets, he [St. Augustin] calleth sacraments *holy signs*. And writing to Bonifacius of the baptism of infants, he saith, 'If sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they be sacraments, they should be no sacraments at all. And of this similitude they do for the most parts receive the names of the self-same things they signify.' By these words of St. Augustine it appeareth, that he alloweth the common description of a sacrament, which is, that it is *a visible sign of an invisible grace*; that is to say, that setteth out to the eyes and other outward senses the inward working of God's free mercy, and doth, as it were, seal in our hearts the promises of God."—*Homily on Common Prayer and Sacraments*, pp. 296, 297.

Accordingly, starting with this definition of St. Augustine's, the writer is necessarily carried on as follows:—

"You shall hear how many sacraments there be, that were instituted by our SAVIOUR CHRIST, and are to be continued, and received of every Christian in

due time and order, and for such purpose as our SAVIOUR CHRIST willed them to be received. And as for the number of them, if they should be considered according to the *exact* signification of a sacrament, namely, for visible signs expressly commanded in the New Testament, whereunto is annexed the promise of free forgiveness of our sins, and of our holiness and joining in CHRIST, there be but two; namely, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord. For although absolution hath the promise of forgiveness of sin; yet by the *express* word of the New Testament, it hath not this promise annexed and tied to the visible sign, which is imposition of hands. For this visible sign (I mean laying on of hands) is not *expressly* commanded in the New Testament to be used in absolution, as the visible signs in Baptism and the LORD'S Supper are: and therefore absolution is no *such* sacrament as Baptism and the Communion are. And though the ordering of ministers hath this visible sign and promise; yet it lacks the promise of remission of sin, as all other sacraments besides the two above named do. Therefore neither it, nor any *other* sacrament else, be *such* sacraments as Baptism and the Communion are. But in a general acception, the name of a sacrament may be attributed to any thing, whereby an holy thing is signified. In which understanding of the word, the ancient writers have given this name, not only to the other five, commonly of late years taken and used for supplying the number of the seven sacraments; but also to divers and sundry other ceremonies, as to oil, washing of feet, and such like; not meaning thereby to repute them as sacraments, *in the same signification* that the two forenamed sacraments are. And therefore St. Augustine, weighing the true signification and exact meaning of the word, writing to Januarius, and also in the third Book of Christian Doctrine, affirmeth, that the sacraments of the Christians, as they are most excellent in signification, so are they most few in number, and in both places maketh mention expressly of two, the sacrament of Baptism, and the Supper of the LORD. And although there are retained by order of the Church of England, besides these two, certain other rites and ceremonies, about the institution of ministers in the Church, Matrimony, Confirmation of Children, by examining them of their knowledge in the Articles of the Faith, and joining thereto the prayers of the Church for them, and likewise for the Visitation of the Sick; yet no man ought to take these for sacraments, in *such* signification and meaning as the sacraments of Baptism and the LORD'S Supper are: but either for godly states of life, necessary in Christ's Church, and therefore worthy to be set forth by public action and solemnity, by the ministry of the Church, or else judged to be such ordinances as may make for the instruction, comfort, and edification of CHRIST'S Church." —*Homily on Common Prayer and Sacraments*, pp. 298—300.

Another definition of the word sacrament, which equally succeeds in limiting it to the two principal rites of the Christian Church, is also contained in the Catechism, as well as alluded to

in the above passage :—“Two only, as *generally necessary* to salvation, Baptism and the Supper of the LORD.” On this subject the following remark has been made :—

“The Roman Catholic considers that there are seven [sacraments]; we do not strictly determine the number. We define the word generally to be an ‘outward sign of an inward grace,’ without saying to how many ordinances this applies. However, what we do determine is, that CHRIST has ordained two special sacraments, as *generally necessary to salvation*. This, then, is the characteristic mark of those two, separating them from all other whatever; and this is nothing else but saying in other words that they are the only *justifying* rites, or instruments of communicating the Atonement, which is the one thing necessary to us. Ordination, for instance, gives *power*, yet without making the soul *acceptable* to God; Confirmation gives *light and strength*, yet is the mere *completion* of Baptism; and Absolution may be viewed as a negative ordinance removing the *barrier* which sin has raised between us and that grace, which by inheritance is ours. But the two sacraments ‘of the Gospel,’ as they may be emphatically styled, are the instruments of inward *life*, according to our LORD’s declaration, that Baptism is a new *birth*, and that in the Eucharist we eat the *living* bread.”

§ 8.—*Transubstantiation.*

Article xxviii.—“Transubstantiation, or the change of the substance of bread and wine, in the supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.”

What is here opposed as “Transubstantiation,” is the shocking doctrine that “the body of CHRIST,” as the Article goes on to express it, is *not* “given, taken, and eaten, after an heavenly and spiritual manner, but is carnally pressed with the teeth;” that It is a body or substance of a certain extension and bulk in space, and a certain figure and due disposition of parts, whereas we hold that the only substance such, is the bread which we see.

This is plain from Article xxix., which quotes St. Augustine as speaking of the wicked as “carnally and visibly pressing with their teeth the *sacrament* of the body and blood of CHRIST,” not the real substance, a statement which even the Breviary introduces into the service for Corpus Christi day.

This is plain also from the words of the Homily:—“Saith Cyprian, ‘When we do these things, *we need not whet our teeth*, but with sincere faith we break and divide that holy bread. It is well known that the meat we seek in this supper is spiritual food, the nourishment of the soul, a heavenly refection, *and not earthly*; an invisible meat, *and not a bodily*: a ghostly substance, *and not carnal.*’”

Some extracts may be quoted to the same effect from Bishop Taylor. Speaking of what has been believed in the Church of Rome, he says:—

“Sometimes CHRIST hath appeared in His own shape, and blood and flesh hath been pulled out of the mouths of the communicants: and Plegilus, the priest, saw an angel, showing CHRIST to him in form of a child upon the altar, whom first he took in his arms and kissed, but did eat him up presently in his other shape, in the shape of a wafer. ‘*Speciosa certè pax nebulonis, ut qui*

oris præbuerat basium, dentium inferret exitium,' said Berengarius: 'It was but a Judas' kiss to kiss with the lip, and bite with the teeth.'—*Bp. Taylor*, vol. x., p. 12.

Again :—

"Yet if this and the other miracles pretended, had not been illusions or directly fabulous, it had made very much against the present doctrine of the Roman Church; for they represent the body in such measure, as by their explanations it is not, and it cannot be: they represent it broken, a finger, or a piece of flesh, or bloody, or bleeding, or in the form of an infant; and then, when it is in the species of bread: for if, as they say, CHRIST's body is present no longer than the form of bread remained, how can it be CHRIST's body in the miracle, when the species being gone, it is no longer a sacrament? But the dull inventors of miracles in those ages considered nothing of this; the article itself was then gross and rude, and so were the instruments of probation. I noted this, not only to show at what door so incredible a persuasion entered, but that the zeal of prevailing in it hath so blinded the refiners of it in this age, that they still urge these miracles for proof, when, if they do any thing at all, they reprove the present doctrine."—*Bp. Taylor's Works*, vol. ix. p. cccxi.

Again: the change which is denied in the Article is accurately specified in another passage of the same author :—

"I will not insist upon the unworthy questions which this carnal doctrine introduces . . . neither will I make scrutiny concerning CHRIST's bones, hair, and nails; nor suppose the Roman priests to be such *καρχαρόδοντες*, and to have such 'saws in their mouths:' these are appendages of their persuasion, but to be abominated by all Christian and modest persons, who use to eat not the bodies but the flesh of beasts, and not to devour, but to worship the body of Christ in the exaltation, and now in union with His divinity."—*On the Real Presence*, 11.

And again :—

"They that *deny the spiritual sense*, and affirm the natural, are to remember that CHRIST reprov'd all senses of these words that were not *spiritual*. And by the way let me observe, that the expressions of some chief men among the Romanists are so rude and crass, that it will be impossible to excuse them from the understanding the words in the sense of the men of Capernaum; for, as they understood CHRIST to mean His 'true flesh natural and proper,' so do they: as they thought CHRIST intended they should *tear Him with their teeth and suck His blood*, for which they were offended; so do these men not only think so, but say so, and are not offended. So said Alanus, 'Assertissime loquimur, corpus Christi vere a nobis contrectari, manducari, circumgestari, *dentibus teri* [*ground by the teeth*], *sensibiliter sacrificari* [*sensibly sacrificed*], non minus

quam ante consecrationem panis,' [not less than the bread before consecration] . . . I thought that the Romanists had been glad to separate their own opinion from the carnal conceit of the men of Capernaum and the offended disciples . . . but I find that Bellarmine owns it, even in them, in their rude circumstances, for he affirms that 'CHRIST corrected them *not for supposing so*, but reproved them *for not believing it to be so*.' And indeed himself says as much: 'The body of CHRIST is *truly and properly manducated or chewed* with the body in the Eucharist;' and to take off the foulness of the expression, by avoiding a worse, he is pleased to speak nonsense: 'A thing may be manducated or chewed, though it be not attrite or broken.' . . . But Bellarmine adds, that if you will not allow him to say so, then he grants it in plain terms, that CHRIST'S body is chewed, *is attrite, or broken with the teeth*, and that not tropically, *but properly*. . . How? under the species of bread, and invisibly." —*Ibid.* 3.

Take again the statement of Ussher :—

"Paschasius Radbertus, who was one of the first setters forward of this doctrine in the West, spendeth a large chapter upon this point, wherein he telleth us, that CHRIST in the sacrament did show himself 'oftentimes in a visible shape, either in the form of a lamb, or in the colour of flesh and blood; so that while the host was a breaking or an offering, a lamb in the priest's hands, and blood in the chalice should be seen as it were flowing from the sacrifice, that what lay hid in a mystery might to them that yet doubted be made manifest in a miracle.' . . . The first [tale] was . . . of a Roman matron, who found a piece of the sacramental bread turned into the fashion of a finger, all bloody; which afterwards, upon the prayers of St. Gregory, was converted to its former shape again. The other two were first coined by the Grecian liars. . . . The former of these is not only related there, but also in the legend of Simeon Metaphrastes (which is such another author among the Grecians as Jacobus de Voragine was among the Latins) in the life of Arsenius, . . . how that a little child was seen upon the altar, and an angel cutting him into small pieces with a knife, and receiving his blood into the chalice, as long as the priest was breaking the bread into little parts. The latter is of a certain Jew, receiving the sacrament at St. Basil's hands, converted visibly into true flesh and blood." —*Ussher's Answer to a Jesuit*, pp. 62—64.

Or the following :—

"When St. Odo was celebrating the mass in the presence of certain of the clergy of Canterbury, (who maintained that the bread and wine, after consecration, do remain in their former substance, and are not CHRIST'S true body and blood, but of a figure of it :) when he was come to confraction, presently the fragments of the body of CHRIST which he held in his hands, began to pour forth blood into the chalice. Whereupon he shed tears of joy; and beckoning to them that wavered in their faith, to come near and see the

wonderful work of GOD; as soon as they beheld it they cried out, 'O holy Prelate! to whom the SON of GOD has been pleased to reveal Himself visibly in the flesh, pray for us, that the blood we see here present to our eyes, may again be changed, lest for our unbelief the Divine vengeance fall upon us.' He prayed accordingly; after which, looking in the chalice, he saw the species of bread and wine, where he had left blood. . . .

"St. Wittekundus, in the administration of the Eucharist, saw a child enter into every one's mouth, playing and smiling when some received him, and with an abhorring countenance when he went into the mouths of others; CHRIST thus showing this saint in His countenance, who were worthy, and who unworthy receivers."—*Johnson's Miracles of Saints*, pp. 27, 28.

The same doctrine was imposed by Nicholas the Second on Berengarius, as the confession of the latter shows, which runs thus:—

"I, Berengarius . . . anathematize every heresy, and more particularly that of which I have hitherto been accused . . . I agree with the Roman Church . . . that the bread and wine which are placed on the altar are, after consecration, not only a sacrament, but even the true body and blood of our LORD JESUS CHRIST; and that these are *sensibly*, and not merely sacramentally, but in truth, *handed and broken* by the hands of the priest, and *ground by the teeth* of the faithful."—*Bowden's Life of Gregory VII.*, vol. ii. p. 243.

Another illustration of the sort of doctrine offered in the Article, may be given from Bellarmine, whose controversial statements have already been introduced in the course of the above extracts. He thus opposes the doctrine of *introsusception*, which the spiritual view of the Real Presence naturally suggests:—

He observes, that there are "two particular opinions, false and erroneous, excogitated in the schools: that of Durandus, who thought it probable that the substance of the body of CHRIST in the Eucharist was *without magnitude*; and that of certain ancients, which Occam seems afterwards to have followed, that though it has magnitude, (which they think not really separable from substance,) yet every part is so penetrated by every other, that the body of CHRIST is *without figure*, without distinction and order of parts." With this he contrasts the doctrine which, he maintains, is that of the Church of Rome as well as the general doctrine of the schools, that "in the Eucharist whole CHRIST exists *with magnitude* and *all accidents*, except that relation to a heavenly location which He has as He is in heaven, and those things which are concomitants

on His existence in that location; and that the parts and members of CHRIST's body do *not* penetrate each other, but are so distinct and arranged one with another, as to have a *figure and order* suitable to a human body."—*De Euchar.* iii. 5.

We see then, that, by transubstantiation, our Article does not confine itself to any abstract theory, nor aim at any definition of the word substance, nor in rejecting it, rejects a word, nor in denying a "mutatio panis et vini," is denying *every kind* of change, but opposes itself to a certain plain and unambiguous statement, not of this or that council, but one generally received or taught both in the schools and in the multitude, that the material elements are changed into an earthly, fleshly, and organized body, extended in size, distinct in its parts, which is there where the outward appearances of bread and wine are, and only does not meet the senses, nor even that always.

Objections against "substance," "nature," "change," "accidents," and the like, seem more or less questions of words, and inadequate expressions of the great offence which we find in the received Roman view of this sacred doctrine.

In this connexion it may be suitable to proceed to notice the Explanation appended to the Communion Service, of our kneeling at the LORD's Supper, which requires explanation itself, more perhaps than any part of our formularies. It runs as follows:—

"Whereas it is ordained in this office for the Administration of the LORD's Supper, that the communicants should receive the same kneeling: (which order is well meant, for a signification of our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of CHRIST therein given to all worthy receivers, and for the avoiding of such profanation and disorder in the holy communion, as might otherwise ensue;) yet, lest the same kneeling should by any persons, either out of ignorance and infirmity, or out of malice and obstinacy, be misconstrued and depraved,—It is hereby declared, that thereby no adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or unto any corporal presence of CHRIST's natural flesh and blood. For the sacramental bread and wine re-

main still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, (for that were idolatry, to be abhorred of all faithful Christians; and the natural body and blood of our SAVIOUR CHRIST are in heaven, and not here, it being against the truth of CHRIST'S natural body to be at one time in more places than one."

Now it may be admitted without difficulty,—1. That "no adoration ought to be done unto the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received." 2. Nor "unto any *corporal* (*i. e.* carnal) presence of CHRIST'S natural flesh and blood." 3. That "the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances." 4. That to adore them "were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians;" and 5. That "the natural body and blood of our SAVIOUR CHRIST are in heaven."

But "to heaven" is added, "*and not here.*" Now, though it be allowed that there is no "*corporal* presence" [*i. e.* carnal] of "CHRIST'S natural flesh and blood" here, it is a further point to allow that "CHRIST'S natural body and blood" are "*not here.*" And the question is, how can there be any *presence* at all of His body and blood, yet a presence such, as not to be *here*? How can there be any *presence*, yet not *local*?

Yet that this is the meaning of the paragraph in question is plain, from what it goes on to say in proof of its position: "It being against the truth of CHRIST'S natural body to be at one time in more places than one." It is here asserted then, 1. Generally, "no natural body can be in more places than one;" therefore, 2. CHRIST'S natural body cannot be in the bread and wine, or there where the bread and wine are seen. In other words, there is no local presence in the Sacrament. Yet, that there is *a* presence is asserted in the Homilies, as quoted above, and the question is, as just now stated, "How can there be a presence, yet not a local one?"

Now, first, let it be observed that the question to be solved is the truth of a certain philosophical deduction, not of a certain doctrine of Scripture. That there is a real presence, Scripture asserts, and the Homilies, Catechism, and Communion Service confess; but the explanation before us adds, that it is philoso-

phically impossible that it should be a particular kind of presence, a presence of which one can say "it is here," or which is "local." It states then a philosophical deduction; but to such deduction none of us have subscribed. We have professed in the words of the Canon: "That the Book of Prayer, &c. containeth in it *nothing contrary to the word of God.*" Now, a position like this may not be, and is not, "contrary to the word of God," and yet need not be true; *e. g.* we may accept St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, as containing nothing contrary to Scripture, nay, as altogether most scriptural, and yet this would not hinder us from rejecting the account of the Phoenix—as contrary, not to God's word, but to matter of fact. Even the infallibility of the Roman see is not considered to extend to matters of fact or points of philosophy. Nay, we commonly do not consider that we need take the words of Scripture itself literally about the sun's standing still, or the earth being fixed, or the firmament being above. Those at least who distinguish between what is theological in Scripture and what is scientific, and yet admit that Scripture is true, have no ground for wondering at such persons as subscribe to a paragraph, of which at the same time they disallow the philosophy; especially considering they expressly subscribe it only as not "contrary to the word of God." This then is what must be said first of all.

Next, the philosophical position is itself capable of a very specious defence. The truth is, we do not at all know what is meant by distance or intervals absolutely, any more than we know what is meant by absolute time. Late discoveries in geology have tended to make it probable that time may under circumstances go indefinitely faster or slower than it does at present; or in other words, that indefinitely more may be accomplished in a given portion of it. What Moses calls a day, geologists wish to prove to be thousands of years, if we measure time by the operations at present effected in it. It is equally difficult to determine what we mean by distance, or why we should not be at this moment close to the throne of God, though we seem far from it. Our measure of distance is our hand or our foot; but as an object a foot off is not called distant, though the interval is indefinitely

divisible ; neither need it be distant either, after it has been multiplied indefinitely. Why should any conventional measure of ours—why should the perception of our eyes or our ears, be the standard of presence or distance ? CHRIST may really be close to us, though in heaven, and His presence in the Sacrament may but be a manifestation to the worshipper of that nearness, not a change of place, which may be unnecessary. But on this subject some extracts may be suitably made from a pamphlet published several years since, and admitting of one or two verbal corrections, which, as in the case of other similar quotations above, shall here be made without scruple :—

“ In the note at the end of the Communion Service, it is argued, that a body cannot be in two places at once ; and that therefore the Body of CHRIST is not *locally* present, in the sense in which we speak of the bread as being locally present. On the other hand, in the Communion Service itself, Catechism, Articles, and Homilies, it is plainly declared, that the Body of CHRIST is in a mysterious way, if not *locally*, yet *really* present, so that we are able after some ineffable manner to receive It. Whereas, then, the objection stands, ‘ CHRIST is not really here, because He is not locally here,’ our formularies answer, ‘ He is really here, yet not locally.’

“ But it may be asked, What is the meaning of saying that CHRIST is really present, yet not locally ? I will make a suggestion on the subject. What do we mean by being *present* ? How do we define and measure it ? To a blind and deaf man, that only is present which he touches : give him hearing, and the range of things present enlarges ; every thing is present to him which he hears. Give him at length sight, and the sun may be said to be present to him in the day time, and myriads of stars by night. The *presence*, then, of a thing is a relative word, depending, in a popular sense of it, upon the channels of communication between it and him to whom it is present ; and thus it is a word of degree.

“ Such is the meaning of *presence*, when used of material objects ;—very different from this is the conception we form of the presence of spirit with spirit. The most intimate presence

we can fancy is a spiritual presence in the soul ; it is nearer to us than any material object can possibly be ; for our body, which is the organ of conveying to us the presence of matter, sets bounds to its approach towards us. If, then, spiritual beings can be brought near to us, (and that they can, we know, from what is told us of the influences of Divine grace, and again of evil angels upon our souls) their presence is something *sui generis*, of a more perfect and simple character than any presence we commonly call local. And further, their presence has nothing to do with the degrees of nearness ; they are either present or not present, or, in other words, their coming is not measured by space, nor their absence ascertained by distance. In the case of things material, a transit through space is the necessary condition of approach and presence ; but in things spiritual, (whatever be the condition,) such a transit seems not to be a condition. The condition is unknown. Once more : while beings simply spiritual seem not to exist in place, the Incarnate SON does ; according to our Church's statement already alluded to, that ' the natural body and blood of our SAVIOUR CHRIST are in heaven and not here, it being against the *truth* of CHRIST's natural body to be at one time *in more places than one*.'

“ Such seems to be the mystery attending our LORD and SAVIOUR ; He has a *body*, and that *spiritual*. He is in place ; and yet, as being a Spirit, His mode of approach—the mode in which He makes Himself present here or there—may be, for what we know, as different from the mode in which material bodies approach and come, as a spiritual presence is more perfect. As material bodies approach by moving from place to place, so the approach and presence of a spiritual body may be in some other way,—probably is in some other way, since in some other way, (as it would appear) not gradual, progressive, approximating, that is, locomotive, but at once, spirits become present,—may be such as to be consistent with His remaining on God's right hand while He becomes present here,—that is, it may be real yet not local, or, in a word, is *mysterious*. The Body and Blood of CHRIST may be really, literally present in the holy Eucharist, yet not having become present by local passage, may still literally and really be

on GOD's right hand ; so that, though they be present in deed and truth, it may be impossible, it may be untrue to say, that they are literally *in* the elements, or *about* them, or *in* the soul of the receiver. These may be useful modes of speech according to the occasion ; but the true determination of all such questions may be this, that CHRIST's Body and Blood are *locally* at GOD's right hand, *yet* really *present* here,—present here, but not here in place,—because they are spirit.

“ To assist our conceptions on this subject, I would recur to what I said just now about the presence of material objects, by way of putting my meaning in a different point of view. The presence of a material object, in the popular sense of the word, is a matter of degree, and ascertained by the means of apprehending it which belong to him to whom it is present. It is in some sense a correlative of the senses. A fly may be as near an edifice as a man ; yet we do not call it present to the fly, because it cannot see it ; and we call it present to the man because he can. This, however, is but a popular view of the matter : when we consider it carefully, it certainly is difficult to say what *is* meant by the presence of a material object relatively to us. It is in some respects truer to say that a thing is present, which is so circumstanced as to act upon us and influence us, whether we are sensible of it or not. Now this is what the Catholic Church seems to hold concerning our LORD's Presence in the Sacrament, that He then personally and bodily is with us in the way an object is which we call present : how He is so, we know not, but that He should be so, though He be millions of miles away, is not more inconceivable than the influence of eyesight upon us is to a blind man. The stars are millions of miles off, yet they impress ideas upon our souls through our sight. We know but of five senses : we know not whether or not human nature be capable of more ; we know not whether or not the soul possesses anything analogous to them. We know nothing to negative the notion that the soul may be capable of having CHRIST present to it by the stimulating of dormant, or the development of possible energies.

“ As sight for certain purposes annihilates space, so other un-

known capacities, bodily or spiritual, may annihilate it for other purposes. Such a practical annihilation was involved in the appearance of CHRIST to St. Paul on his conversion. Such a practical annihilation is involved in the doctrine of CHRIST'S ascension; to speak according to the ideas of space and time commonly received, what must have been the rapidity of that motion by which, within ten days, He placed our human nature at the right hand of GOD? Is it more mysterious that He should 'open the heavens,' to use the Scripture phrase, in the sacramental rite; that He should then dispense with time and space, in the sense in which they are daily dispensed with, in the sun's warming us at the distance of 100,000,000 of miles, than that He should have dispensed with them on occasion of His ascending on high? He who showed what the passage of an incorruptible body was ere it had reached God's throne, thereby suggests to us what may be its coming back and presence with us now, when at length glorified and become spirit.

"In answer, then, to the problem, *how* CHRIST comes to us while remaining on high, I answer just as much as this,—that He comes by the agency of the HOLY GHOST, *in and by the Sacrament*. Locomotion is the means of a material presence; the Sacrament is the means of His spiritual Presence. As faith is the means of our receiving It, so the HOLY GHOST is the Agent and the Sacrament the means of His imparting It; and therefore we call It a Sacramental Presence. We kneel before His heavenly Throne, and the distance is as nothing; it is as if that Throne were the Altar close to us.

"Let it be carefully observed, that I am not proving or determining anything; I am only showing how it is that certain propositions which at first sight seem contradictions in terms, are not so,—I am but pointing out *one* way of reconciling them. If there is but one way assignable, the force of all antecedent objection against the possibility of any at all is removed, and then of course there may be other ways supposable though not assignable. It seems at first sight a mere idle use of words to say that CHRIST is really and literally, yet not locally, present in the Sa-

crament ; that He is there given to us, not in figure but in truth, and yet is still only on the right hand of God. I have wished to remove this seeming impossibility.

“ If it be asked, *why* attempt to remove it, I answer that I have no wish to do so, if persons will not urge it against the Catholic doctrine. Men maintain it as an impossibility, a contradiction in terms, and force a believer in it to say why it should not be so accounted. And then when he gives a reason, they turn round and accuse him of subtleties, and refinements, and scholastic trifling. Let them but believe and act on the truth that the consecrated bread is CHRIST’S Body, as He says, and no officious comment on His words will be attempted by any well-judging mind. But when they say ‘this *cannot* be literally true, *because* it is impossible ;’ then they force those who think it is literally true, to explain how, according to their notions, it is not impossible. And those who ask hard questions must put up with hard answers.”

There is nothing, then, in the Explanatory Paragraph which has given rise to these remarks, to interfere with the doctrine, elsewhere taught in our formularies, of a real super-local presence in the Holy Sacrament.

§ 9.—*Masses.*

Article xxxi.—“The sacrifice (*sacrificia*) of *Masses*, in which it was commonly said, that the priests did offer CHRIST for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits (*perniciosæ imposturæ*).”

Nothing can show more clearly than this passage that the Articles are not written against the creed of the Roman Church, but against actual existing errors in it, whether taken into its system or not. Here the sacrifice of the *Mass* is not spoken of, in which the special question of doctrine would be introduced; but “the sacrifice of *Masses*,” certain observances, for the most part private and solitary, which the writers of the Articles knew to have been in force in time past, and saw before their eyes, and which involved certain opinions and a certain teaching. Accordingly the passage proceeds, “in which it *was commonly said* ;” which surely is a strictly historical mode of speaking.

If any testimony is necessary in aid of what is so plain from the wording of the Article itself, it is found in the drift of the following passage from Burnet :—

“It were easy from all the rituals of the ancients to shew, that they had none of those ideas that are now in the Roman Church. They had but one altar in a Church, and probably but one in a city : they had but one communion in a day at that altar : so far were they from the many altars in every church, and *the many masses* at every altar, that are now in the Roman Church. They did not know what *solitary masses* were, without a communion. All the liturgies and all the writings of ancients are as express in this matter as is possible. The whole constitution of their worship and discipline shews it. Their worship always concluded with the Eucharist : such as were not capable of it, as the catechumens, and those who were doing public penance for their sins, assisted at the more general parts of the worship ; and so much of it was called their mass, because they were dismissed at the conclusion of it. When that was done, then the faithful stayed, and did partake of the Eucharist ; and at the conclusion of it they were likewise dismissed, from whence it came to be called the mass of the faithful.—*Burnet on the XXXIst Article*, p. 482.

These sacrifices are said to be “blasphemous fables and pernicious impostures.” Now the “blasphemous fable” is the teach-

ing that there is a sacrifice for sin other than CHRIST's death, and that masses are that sacrifice. And the "pernicious imposture" is the turning this belief into a means of filthy lucre.

1. That the "blasphemous fable" is the teaching that masses are sacrifices for sin distinct from the sacrifice of CHRIST's death, is plain from the first sentence of the Article. "The offering of CHRIST *once made*, is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for *all* the sins of the *whole world, both original and actual*. And *there is none other* satisfaction for sin, but *that alone*. Wherefore the sacrifice of masses, &c." It is observable too that the heading of the Article runs, "Of the one oblation of CHRIST finished upon the Cross," which interprets the *drift* of the statement contained in it about masses.

Our Communion Service shows it also, in which the prayer of consecration commences pointedly with a declaration, which has the force of a protest, that CHRIST made on the cross "by His *one oblation of Himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction* for the sins of the whole world."

And again in the offering of the sacrifice: "We entirely desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching Thee to grant that *by the merits and death of Thy SON JESUS CHRIST*, and through faith in his blood, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain *remission of our sins and all other benefits* of His passion."

[And in the notice of the celebration: "I purpose, through God's assistance, to administer to all such as shall be religiously and devoutly disposed, the most comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of CHRIST; to be by them received in remembrance of His meritorious Cross and Passion; *whereby alone* we obtain remission of our sins, and are made partakers of the kingdom of heaven."]

But the popular charge still urged against the Roman system as introducing in the Mass a second or rather continually recurring atonement, is a sufficient illustration, without further quotations, of this part of the Article.

2. That the "blasphemous and pernicious imposture" is the

turning the Mass into a gain is plain from such passages as the following :—

“ With what earnestness, with what vehement zeal, did our SAVIOUR CHRIST drive the buyers and sellers out of the temple of GOD, and hurled down the tables of the changers of money, and the seats of the dove-sellers, and could not abide that a man should carry a vessel through the temple. He told them, that they had made His FATHER’S house a den of thieves, partly through their superstition, hypocrisy, false worship, false doctrine, and insatiable covetousness, and partly through contempt, abusing that place with walking and talking, with worldly matters, without all fear of GOD, and due reverence to that place. What dens of thieves the Churches of England have been made by the *blasphemous buying and selling the most precious body and blood of CHRIST in the Mass*, as the world was made to believe, at dirges, at months minds, at trentalls, in abbeys and chantries, besides other horrible abuses, (GOD’S holy name be blessed for ever,) which we now see and understand. All these abominations they that supply the room of CHRIST have cleansed and purged the Churches of England of, taking away all such fulsomeness and filthiness, as through blind devotion and ignorance hath crept into the Church these many hundred years.”—*On repairing and keeping clean of Churches*, pp. 229, 230.

Other passages are as follow :—

“ Have not the Christians of late days, and even in our days also, in like manner provoked the displeasure and indignation of ALMIGHTY GOD; partly because they have profaned and defiled their Churches with heathenish and Jewish abuses, with images and idols, with numbers of altars, too superstitiously and intolerably abused, with gross abusing and filthy corrupting of the LORD’S holy Supper, the blessed sacrament of His body and blood, with an infinite number of toys and trifles of their own devices, to make a goodly outward shew, and to deface the homely, simple, and sincere religion of CHRIST JESUS; partly, they resort to the Church like hypocrites, full of all iniquity and sinful life, having a vain and dangerous fancy and persuasion, that if they come to the Church, besprinkle them with holy water, *hear a mass, and be blessed with a chalice*, though they understand not one word of the whole service, nor feel one motion of repentance in their heart, all is well, all is sure?”—*On the Place and Time of Prayer*, p. 293.

Again :—

“ What hath been the cause of this gross idolatry, but the ignorance hereof? What hath been the cause of this *nummish massing*, but the ignorance hereof? Yea, what hath been, and what is at this day the cause of this want of love and charity, but the ignorance hereof? Let us therefore so travel to understand the LORD’S Supper, that we be no cause of the decay of GOD’S worship, of no idolatry, of no *dumb massing*, of no hate and malice; so may we the boldier have access thither to our comfort.”—*Homily concerning the Sacrament*, pp. 377, 378.

To the same purpose is the following passage from Bishop Bull's Sermons :—

“It were easy to shew, how the whole frame of religion and doctrine of the Church of Rome, as it is distinguished from that Christianity which we hold in common with them, is evidently designed and contrived to *serve the interest and profit* of them that rule that Church, by the disservices, yea, and ruin of those souls that are under their government. . . . What can the doctrine of men's playing an aftergame for their salvation in purgatory be designed for, but to enhance the *price of the priest's masses* and dirges for the dead? Why must a *solitary mass, bought for a piece of money*, performed and participated by a priest alone, in a private corner of a church, be, not only against the sense of Scripture and the Primitive Church, but also against common sense and grammar, called a Communion, and be accounted useful to him that buys it, though he never himself receive the sacrament, or but once a year; but for this reason, that there is *great gain*, but no godliness at all, in this doctrine?”
—*Bp. Bull's Sermons*, p. 10.

And Burnet says,

“Without going far in tragical expressions, we cannot hold saying what our SAVIOUR said upon another occasion, ‘My house is a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.’ A trade was set up on this foundation. The world was made believe, that by the virtue of so many *masses, which were to be purchased by great endowments*, souls were redeemed out of purgatory, and scenes of visions and apparitions, sometimes of the tormented, and sometimes of the delivered souls, were published in all places: which had so wonderful an effect, that in two or three centuries, *endowments* increased to so vast a degree, that if the scandals of the clergy on the one hand, and the statutes of mortmain on the other, had not restrained the profuseness that the world was wrought up to on this account, it is not easy to imagine how far this might have gone; perhaps to an entire subjecting of the temporality to the spirituality. The practices by which this was managed, and the effects that followed on it, we can call by no other name than downright *impostures*; worse than the making or vending false coin: when the world was drawn in by such arts to plain bargains, to *redeem* their own souls, and the souls of their ancestors and posterity, *so many masses were to be said*, and forfeitures were to follow upon their not being said: thus the *masses were really the price* of the lands.—*On Article XXII.*, pp. 303, 304.

The truth of these representations cannot be better shewn than by extracting the following passage from the Session 22 of the Council of Trent :—

“Whereas many things appear to have crept in heretofore, whether by the fault of the times or by the neglect and wickedness of men, foreign to the

dignity of so great a sacrifice, in order that it may regain its due honour and observance, to the glory of GOD and the edification of His faithful people, the Holy Council decrees, that the bishops, ordinaries of each place, diligently take care and be bound, to forbid and put an end to all those things, which either *avarice*, which is idolatry, or *irreverence*, which is scarcely separable from impiety, or *superstition*, the pretence of true piety, has introduced. And, to say much in a few words, first of all, as to avarice, let them altogether forbid agreements, and bargains of *payment* of whatever kind, and *whatever is given for celebrating new masses*; moreover importunate and mean extortion, rather than petition of alms, and such like practices, which border on simoniacal sin, certainly on *filthy lucre*. . . . And let them banish from the church those musical practices, *when with the organ or with the chant any thing lascivious or impure is mingled*; also all secular practices, vain and therefore profane conversations, promenadings, bustle, clamour; so that the house of GOD may truly seem and be called the house of prayer. Lastly, lest any opening be given to superstition, let them provide by edict and punishments appointed, that the priests celebrate it at no other than the due hours, nor use rites or ceremonies and prayers in the celebration of masses, other than those which have been approved by the Church, and received on frequent and laudable use. And let them altogether remove from the Church a *set number of certain masses and candles*, which has proceeded rather from *superstitious observance* than from true religion, and teach the people in what consists, and from whom, above all, proceeds the so precious and heavenly fruit of this most holy sacrifice. And let them admonish the same people to come frequently to their parish Churches, at least on Sundays and the greater feasts," &c.

On the whole, then, it is conceived that the Article before us neither speaks against the Mass in itself, nor against its being [an offering, though commemorative,]¹ for the quick and the dead for the remission of sin; [(especially since the decree of Trent says, that "the fruits of the Bloody Oblation are through this most abundantly obtained; so far is the latter from detracting in any way from the former;")] but against its being viewed, on the one hand, as independent of or distinct from the Sacrifice on the Cross, which is blasphemy, and, on the other, its being directed to the emolument of those to whom it pertains to celebrate it, which is imposture in addition.

¹ "An offering for the quick, &c."—*First Edition*.

§ 10.—*Marriage of Clergy.*

Article xxxii.—“Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God’s law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage.”

There is literally no subject for controversy in these words, since even the most determined advocates of the celibacy of the clergy admit their truth. [As far as clerical celibacy is a duty, it] is grounded not on God’s law, but on the Church’s rule, or on vow. No one, for instance, can question the vehement zeal of St. Jerome in behalf of this observance, yet he makes the following admission in his attack upon Jovinian :—

“Jovinian says, ‘You speak in vain, since the Apostle appointed Bishops, and Presbyters, and Deacons, the husbands of one wife, and having children.’ But, as the Apostle says, that he has not a precept concerning virgins, yet gives a counsel, as having received mercy of the Lord, and urges throughout that discourse a preference of virginity to marriage, and *advises what he does not command*, lest he seem to cast a snare, and to impose a burden too great for man’s nature; *so also*, in ecclesiastical order, seeing that an infant Church was then forming out of the Gentiles, he gives the lighter precepts to recent converts, lest they should fail under them through fear.”—*Adv. Jovinian*, i. 34.

And the Council of Trent merely lays down :

“If any shall say that clerks in holy orders, or regulars, who have solemnly professed chastity, can contract matrimony, and that the contract is valid in spite of ecclesiastical law or vow, let him be anathema.”—*Sess. 24 Can. 9.*

Here the observance is placed simply upon rule of the Church or upon vow, neither of which exists in the English Church; “*therefore*,” as the Article logically proceeds, “it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry *at their own discretion*, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.” Our Church leaves the discretion with the clergy; and most persons will allow that, *under our circumstances*, she acts wisely in doing so. That she has *power*, did she so choose, to take from them this discretion, and to oblige them either to marriage [(as is said to be the case as regards the parish priests of the Greek Church)] or to celibacy, would seem to be involved in the doctrine of the following extract from the Homilies; though, whether an en-

forcement either of the one or the other rule would be expedient and pious, is another matter. Speaking of fasting, the Homily says:—

“GOD’S Church ought not, neither may it be so tied to that or any other order now made, or hereafter to be made and devised by the authority of man, but that *it may lawfully, for just causes, alter, change, or mitigate* those ecclesiastical decrees and orders, yea, *recede wholly from them, and break them*, when they tend either to superstition or to impiety; when they draw the people from GOD rather than work any edification in them. This authority CHRIST Himself used, and *left it to His Church*. He used it, I say, for the order or decree made by the elders for washing oftentimes, which was diligently observed of the Jews; yet tending to superstition, our SAVIOUR CHRIST altered and changed the same in His Church into a profitable sacrament, the sacrament of our regeneration, or new birth. This authority to mitigate laws and decrees ecclesiastical, the Apostles practised, when they, writing from Jerusalem unto the congregation that was at Antioch, signified unto them, that they would not lay any further burden upon them, but these necessities: that is, ‘that they should abstain from things offered unto idols, from blood, from that which is strangled, and from fornication;’ notwithstanding that Moses’s law required many other observances. This authority to change the orders, decrees, and constitutions of the Church, was, after the Apostles’ time, used of the fathers about the manner of fasting, as it appeareth in the Tripartite History. Thus ye have heard, good people, first, that Christian subjects are bound even in conscience to obey princes’ laws, which are not repugnant to the laws of God. Ye have also heard that CHRIST’S Church is not so bound to observe any order, law, or decree made by man, to prescribe a form in religion, but that the Church hath full power and authority from God to change and alter the same, when need shall require; which hath been shewed you by the example of our SAVIOUR CHRIST, by the practice of the Apostles, and of the Fathers since that time.”—*Homily on Fasting*, p. 242—244.

To the same effect the 34th Article declares, that,

“It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, and utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and *may be changed* according to diversities of countries, times, and men’s manners, so that nothing be ordained against God’s Word. Whosoever, *through his private judgment*, willingly and purposely doth openly *break* the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of GOD, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly.”—*Article XXXIV*.

§ 11.—*The Homilies.*

Art. xxxv.—“The second Book of Homilies doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former Book of Homilies.”

This Article has been treated of in No. 82 of these Tracts, in the course of an answer given to an opponent, who accused its author of not fairly receiving the Homilies, because he dissented from their doctrine, that the Bishop of Rome is Antichrist, and that regeneration was vouchsafed under the law. The passage of the Tract shall here be inserted, with some abridgment.

“I say plainly, then, I have not *subscribed* the Homilies, nor was it ever intended that any member of the English Church should be subjected to what, if considered as an extended confession, would indeed be a yoke of bondage. Romanism surely is innocent, compared with that system which should impose upon the conscience a thick octavo volume, written flowingly and freely by fallible men, to be received exactly, sentence by sentence: I cannot conceive any grosser instance of a pharisaical tradition than this would be. No: such a proceeding would render it impossible (I will say) for any one member, lay or clerical, of the Church to remain in it, who was subjected to such an ordeal. For instance; I do not suppose that any reader would be satisfied with the political reasons for fasting, though indirectly introduced, yet fully admitted and dwelt upon in the Homily on that subject. He would not like to subscribe the declaration that eating fish was a duty, not only as being a kind of fasting, but as making provisions cheap, and encouraging the fisheries. He would not like the association of religion with earthly politics.

“How, then, are we bound to the Homilies? By the Thirty-fifth Article, which speaks as follows:—‘The second Book of

Homilies . . . doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former *Book of Homilies.*' Now, observe, this Article does not speak of every statement made in them, but of the '*doctrine.*' It speaks of the *view or cast, or body of doctrine* contained in them. In spite of ten thousand incidental propositions, as in any large book, there is, it is obvious, a certain line of doctrine, which may be contemplated continuously in its shape and direction. For instance; if you say you disapprove the doctrine contained in the Tracts for the Times, no one supposes you to mean that every sentence and half sentence is a lie. I say then, that, in like manner, when the Article speaks of the *doctrine* of the Homilies, it does not measure the letter of them by the inch, it does not imply that they contain no propositions which admit of two opinions; but it speaks of a certain determinate line of doctrine, and moreover adds, it is '*necessary for these times.*' Does not *this*, too, show the same thing? If a man said, the Tracts for the Times are *seasonable* at this moment, as their title signifies, would he not speak of them as taking a certain line, and bearing in a certain way? Would he not be speaking, not of phrases or sentences, but of a '*doctrine*' in them tending one way, viewed as a whole? Would he be inconsistent, if after praising them as *seasonable*, he continued, 'yet I do not pledge myself to every view or sentiment; there are some things in them hard of digestion, or overstated, or doubtful, or subtle?'

"If any thing could add to the irrelevancy of the charge in question, it is the particular point in which it is urged that I dissent from the Homilies,—a question concerning the fulfilment of prophecy; viz., whether Papal Rome is Antichrist! An iron yoke indeed you would forge for the conscience, when you oblige us to assent, not only to all matters of *doctrine* which the Homilies contain, but even to their opinion concerning the fulfilment of prophecy. Why, *we* do not ascribe authority in such matters even to the unanimous consent of all the fathers.

"I will put what I have been saying in a second point of view. The Homilies are subsidiary to the Articles; therefore they are of authority so far as they *bring out* the sense of the

Articles, and are not of authority where they do not. For instance, they say that David, though unbaptized, was regenerated, as you have quoted. This statement cannot be of authority, because it not only does not agree, but it even disagrees, with the ninth Article, which translates the Latin word ‘renatis’ by the English ‘baptized.’ But, observe, if this mode of viewing the Homilies be taken, as it fairly may, *you* suffer from it; for the Apocrypha, *being the subject of an Article*, the comment furnished in the Homily is binding on you, whereas you reject it.

“A further remark will bring us to the same point. Another test of acquiescence in the doctrine of the Homilies is this:—Take their table of contents; examine the headings; these surely, taken together, will give the substance of their teaching. Now I hold fully and heartily the doctrine of the Homilies, under every one of these headings: the only points to which I should not accede, nor think myself called upon to accede, would be certain matters, subordinate to the doctrines to which the headings refer—matters not of doctrine, but of opinion, as, that Rome is the Antichrist; or of historical fact, as, that there was a Pope Joan. But now, on the other hand, can *you* subscribe the doctrine of the Homilies under every one of its formal headings? I believe you *cannot*. The Homily against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion is, in many of its elementary principles, decidedly uncongenial with your sentiments.”

This illustration of the subject may be thought enough; yet it may be allowable to add from the Homilies a number of propositions and statements of more or less importance, which are too much forgotten at this day, and are decidedly opposed to the views of certain schools of religion, which at the present moment are so eager in claiming the Homilies to themselves. This is not done, as the extract already read will show, with the intention of maintaining that they are one and all binding on the conscience of those who subscribe the Thirty-fifth Article; but since the strong language of the Homilies against the Bishop of Rome is often quoted, as if it were thus proved to be the doctrine of our Church, it may be as well to show that, following the same

rule, we shall be also introducing Catholic doctrines, which indeed it far more belongs to a Church to profess than a certain view of prophecy, but which do not approve themselves to those who hold it. For instance, we read as follows:—

1. "The great clerk and godly preacher, St. John Chrysostom."—1 B. i. 1. And, in like manner, mention is made elsewhere of St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Hilary, St. Basil, St. Cyprian, St. Hierome, St. Martin, Origen, Prosper, Ecumenius, Photius, Bernardus, Anselm, Didymus, Theophylactus, Tertullian, Athanasius, Lactantius, Cyrillus, Epiphanius, Gregory, Irenæus, Clemens, Rabanus, Isidorus, Eusebius, Justinus Martyr, Optatus, Eusebius Emissenus, and Bede.

2. "Infants, being baptized, and dying in their infancy, are by this Sacrifice washed from their sins . . . and they, which in act or deed do sin after this baptism, when they turn to God unfeignedly, they are *likewise* washed by this Sacrifice," &c.—1 B. iii. 1. *init.*

3. "Our office is, not to pass the time of this present life unfruitfully and idly, after that we are *baptized or justified*," &c.—1 B. iii. 3.

4. "By holy promises, we be made lively members of CHRIST, receiving the sacrament of Baptism. By like holy promises *the sacrament of Matrimony* knitteth man and wife in perpetual love."—1 B. vii. 1.

5. "Let us learn also here [in the Book of Wisdom] by *the infallible and undeceivable Word of God*, that," &c.—1 B. x. 1.

6. "The due receiving of His blessed Body and Blood, *under the form of bread and wine*."—*Note at end of B. i.*

7. "In the Primitive Church, *which was most holy and godly* . . . open offenders were not suffered once to enter into the house of the LORD . . . until they had done open penance . . . but this was practised, not only upon mean persons, but also upon the *rich, noble, and mighty persons*, yea, upon Theodosius, *that puissant and mighty Emperor*, whom . . . St. Ambrose . . . did . . . excommunicate."—2 B. i. 2.

8. "Open offenders were not . . . admitted to common prayer, and the use of the holy *sacraments*."—*Ibid.*

9. "Let us amend this our negligence and contempt in coming to the house of the LORD; and resorting thither diligently together, let us there . . . celebrating also reverently the LORD's holy *sacraments*, serve the LORD in His holy house."—*Ibid.* 5.

10. "Contrary to the . . . most manifest doctrine of the Scriptures, and contrary to the usage of the Primitive Church, *which was most pure and uncorrupt*, and contrary to the sentences and judgments of the *most ancient, learned, and godly* doctors of the Church."—2 B. ii. 1. *init.*

11. "This truth . . . was believed and taught by the *old holy fathers*, and *most ancient learned doctors*, and received by the old Primitive Church, *which was most uncorrupt and pure.*"—2 B. ii. 2. *init.*

12. "Athanasius, a very ancient, holy, and learned bishop and doctor."—*Ibid.*

13. "Cyrillus, an old and holy doctor."—*Ibid.*

14. "Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamine, in Cyprus, a very holy and learned man."—*Ibid.*

15. "To whose (Epiphanius's) judgment you have . . . all the learned and godly bishops and clerks, yea, and the whole Church of that age," [the Nicene] "and so upward to our SAVIOUR CHRIST'S time, by the space of about four hundred years, consenting and agreeing."—*Ibid.*

16. "Epiphanius, a bishop and doctor of such antiquity, holiness, and authority."—*Ibid.*

17. "St. Augustine, the best learned of all ancient doctors."—*Ibid.*

18. "That ye may know why and when, and by whom images were first used privately, and afterwards not only received into Christian churches and temples, but, in conclusion, worshipped also; and how the same was gainsaid, resisted, and forbidden, as well by *godly bishops and learned doctors*, as also by sundry Christian princes, I will briefly collect," &c. [The bishops and doctors which follow are:] "St. Jerome, Serenus, Gregory, the Fathers of the Council of Eliberis."

19. "Constantine, Bishop of Rome, assembled a Council of

bishops of the West, and did condemn Philippicus, *the Emperor*, and John, Bishop of Constantinople, of the *heresy of the Monothelites*, not without a cause indeed, but *very justly*."—*Ibid.*

20. "Those six Councils, *which were allowed and received of all men*."—*Ibid.*

21. "There were no images publicly by the space of almost *seven hundred years*. And there is *no doubt* but the Primitive Church, next the Apostles' times, was *most pure*."—*Ibid.*

22. "Let us beseech God that we, being *warned* by His holy Word . . . and by *the writings of old godly doctors* and ecclesiastical histories," &c.—*Ibid.*

23. "It shall be declared, both by God's Word, and the *sentences* of the ancient doctors, and *judgment* of the Primitive Church," &c.—2 B. ii. 3.

24. "Saints, whose souls *reign* in joy with God."—*Ibid.*

25. "That the law of God is likewise to be *understood* against all our images . . . appeareth further by the *judgment* of the old doctors and the Primitive Church."—*Ibid.*

26. "The Primitive Church, *which is specially to be followed*, as most incorrupt and pure."—*Ibid.*

27. "Thus it is declared by God's Word, the *sentences* of the doctors, and the *judgment* of the Primitive Church."—*Ibid.*

28. "The rude people, who specially as the *Scripture* teacheth, are in danger of superstition and idolatry; viz. Wisdom xiii. xiv."—*Ibid.*

29. "They [the 'learned and holy bishops and doctors of the Church' of the eight first centuries] were the preaching bishops . . . And as they were most zealous and diligent, so were they of excellent learning and godliness of life, and by both of great authority and credit with the people."—*Ibid.*

30. "The most virtuous and best learned, the most diligent also, and in number almost infinite, ancient fathers, bishops, and doctors . . . could do nothing against images and idolatry."—*Ibid.*

31. "As the *Word of God* testifieth, Wisdom xiv."—*Ibid.*

32. "The saints, *now reigning in heaven* with God."—*Ibid.*

33. "The fountain of our regeneration is there [in God's house] presented unto us."—2 B. iii.

36. "Somewhat shall now be spoken of one particular good work, whose commendation is both in the law and in the Gospel [fasting]."—2 B. iv. 1.

37. "If any man shall say. . . we are not now under the yoke of the law, we are set at liberty by the freedom of the Gospel; therefore these rites and customs of the old law bind not us, except it can be showed by the Scriptures of the New Testament, or by examples out of the same, that fasting, now under the Gospel, is a restraint of meat, drink, and all bodily food and pleasures from the body, as before: first, that we ought to fast, is a truth more manifest, then it should here need to be proved. . . . Fasting, even by CHRIST'S assent, is a withholding meat, drink, and all natural food from the body, &c."—*Ibid.*

38. "That it [fasting] was used in the Primitive Church, appeareth most evidently by the Chalcedon council, one of the four first general councils. The fathers assembled there. . . . decreed in that council that every person, as well in his private as public fast, should continue all the day without meat and drink, till after the evening prayer. . . . This Canon teacheth how fasting was used in the Primitive Church."—*Ibid.* [The Council was A.D. 452.]

39. "Fasting then, by the decree of those 630 fathers, grounding their determinations in this matter upon the sacred Scriptures. . . is a withholding of meat, drink, and all natural food from the body, for the determined time of fasting."—*Ibid.*

40. "The order or decree made by the elders for washing oft-times, tending to superstition, our SAVIOUR CHRIST altered and changed the same in His Church, into a profitable sacrament, the sacrament of our regeneration or new birth."—2 B. iv. 2.

41. "Fasting thus used with prayer is of great efficacy and weigheth much with God, so the angel Raphael told Tobias."—*Ibid.*

42. "As he" [St. Augustine] "witnesseth in another place, the martyrs and holy men in times past, were wont after their

death to be *remembered* and *named* of the priest at divine service; but never to be invocated or called upon.”—2 B. vii. 2.

43. “Thus you see that the *authority both* of Scripture and *also* of Augustine, doth not permit that we should pray to them.”—*Ibid.*

44. “To temples have the *Christians* customably used to resort from time to time as to most meet places, where they might . . . receive His holy *sacraments* ministered unto them duly and purely.”—2 B. viii. 1.

45. “The which thing both CHRIST and His apostles, *with all the rest of the holy fathers*, do sufficiently declare so.”—*Ibid.*

46. “Our godly *predecessors*, and the *ancient* fathers of the Primitive Church, spared not their goods to build churches.”—*Ibid.*

47. “If we will show ourselves true Christians, if we will be followers of CHRIST our MASTER, and of those *godly fathers* that have lived before us, and now have received the reward of true and faithful Christians,” &c.—*Ibid.*

48. “We must . . . come unto the material churches and temples to pray . . . whereby we may reconcile ourselves to GOD, be partakers of His holy *sacraments*, and be devout hearers of His holy Word,” &c.—*Ibid.*

49. “It [ordination] lacks the promise of remission of sin, as all *other* sacraments besides the two above named do. Therefore neither it, nor any *other* sacrament else, be *such* sacraments as Baptism and the Communion are.”—2 Hom. ix.

50. “Thus we are taught, both by the Scriptures and ancient doctors, that,” &c.—*Ibid.*

51. “The holy apostles and disciples of CHRIST . . . the godly fathers also, that were both *before* and *since* CHRIST, *endued without doubt with the HOLY GHOST*, . . . they both do most earnestly exhort us, &c. . . . that we should remember the poor . . . St. Paul crieth unto us after this sort . . . Isaiah the Prophet teacheth us on this wise . . . *And the holy father Tobit* giveth this counsel. *And the learned and godly doctor Chrysostom* giveth this admonition. . . . But what mean these often admoni-

tions and earnest exhortations of the prophets, apostles, fathers, and holy doctors?"—2 B. xi. 1.

52. "The holy fathers, Job and Tobit."—*Ibid.*

53. "CHRIST, whose especial *favour* we may be assured by *this means to obtain*," [viz. by almsgiving]—2 B. xi. 2.

54. "Now will I . . . show unto you how *profitable* it is for us to exercise them [alms-deeds] . . . [CHRIST's saying] serveth to . . . prick us forwards . . . to learn . . . *how* we may *recover* our health, if it be lost or impaired, and how it may be defended and maintained if we have it. Yea, He teacheth us also therefore to esteem that as a *precious medicine* and an *inestimable jewel*, that hath such *strength and virtue* in it, that can either *procure* or *preserve* so incomparable a treasure."—*Ibid.*

55. "Then He and His disciples were grievously accused of the Pharisees, . . . because they went to meat and washed not their hands before, . . . CHRIST, answering their *superstitious* complaint, teacheth them an especial *remedy* how to *keep clean* their souls, . . . Give alms," &c.—*Ibid.*

56. "Merciful alms-dealing is *profitable* to *purge* the soul from the *infection and filthy spots of sin*."—*Ibid.*

57. "The same lesson *doth the* HOLY GHOST *teach* in sundry places of the *Scripture*, saying, 'Mercifulness and alms-giving,' &c. [Tobit iv.] . . . The wise preacher, the son of Sirach, confirmeth the same, when he says, that 'as water quenqueth burning fire,'" &c.—*Ibid.*

58. "A great *confidence* may they have *before the high God*, that show mercy and compassion to them that are afflicted."—*Ibid.*

59. "If ye have by any infirmity or weakness been touched and annoyed with them . . . straightway shall mercifulness *wipe and wash them away*, as *salves and remedies* to heal their *sores and grievous diseases*."—*Ibid.*

60. "And therefore that *holy father* Cyprian admonisheth to consider how *wholesome* and *profitable* it is to relieve the needy, &c. . . . by the *which* we may *purge our sins* and *heal our wounded souls*."—*Ibid.*

61. "We be therefore *washed* in our baptism from the *filthiness*

of sin, that we should live afterwards in the pureness of life.”—
2 B. xiii. 1.

62. “By these means [by love, compassion, &c.] shall we move God to be *merciful to our sins*.”—*Ibid.*

63. “‘He was dead,’ saith St. Paul, ‘for our sins, and rose again for our *justification*’ . . . He died to destroy the rule of the devil in us, and He rose again to send down His HOLY SPIRIT to rule in our hearts, to endue us with *perfect righteousness*.”—2 B. xiv.

64. “The *ancient Catholic fathers*,” [in marg.] Irenæus, Ignatius, Dionysius, Origen, Optatus, Cyprian, Athanasius, “were not afraid to call this supper, some of them, *the salve of immortality and sovereign preservative against death*; other, the sweet dainties of our SAVIOUR, the pledge of eternal health, the defence of faith, the hope of the resurrection; other, the *food of immortality*, the healthful grace, and the conservatory to everlasting life.”—2 B. xv. 1.

65. “The meat we seek in this supper is spiritual food, the nourishment of our soul, a heavenly refection, and not earthly; an *invisible meat*, and not bodily; a *ghostly substance*, and not carnal.”—*Ibid.*

66. “Take this lesson . . . of Emissenus, a godly father that . . . thou *look up* with faith upon the *holy body and blood of thy God*, thou marvel with reverence, thou *touch* it with thy mind, thou receive it with the hand of thy heart, and thou take it fully with thy inward man.”—*Ibid.*

67. “The saying of the holy martyr of God, St. Cyprian.”—
2 B. xx. 3.

Thus we see the authority of the Fathers, of the six first councils, and of the judgments of the Church generally, the holiness of the Primitive Church, the inspiration of the Apocrypha, the sacramental character of Marriage and other ordinances, the Real Presence in the Eucharist, the Church’s power of excommunicating kings, the profitableness of fasting, the propitiatory virtue of good works, the Eucharistic commemoration, and justification by a righteousness [within us,]¹ are taught

¹ “By inherent righteousness,” *First Edition.*

in the Homilies. Let it be said again, it is not here asserted that a subscription to all and every of these quotations is involved in the subscription of an Article which does but generally approve the Homilies; but they who insist so strongly on our Church's holding that the Bishop of Rome is Antichrist because the Homilies declare it, should recollect that there are other doctrines contained in them beside it, which they should be understood to hold, before their argument has the force of consistency.

§ 12.—*The Bishop of Rome.*

Article xxxviii.—“The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.”

By “hath” is meant “ought to have,” as the Article in the 36th Canon and the Oath of Supremacy show, in which the same doctrine is drawn out more at length. “No foreign prince, person, *prelate*, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm.”

This is the profession which every one must in consistency make, who does not join the Roman Church. If the Bishop of Rome has jurisdiction and authority here, why do we not acknowledge it, and submit to him? To say then the above words, is nothing more or less than to say “I am not a Roman Catholic;” and whatever reasons there are against saying them, are so far reasons against remaining in the English Church. They are a mere enunciation of the principle of Anglicanism.

Anglicans maintain that the supremacy of the Pope is not directly from revelation, but an event in Providence. All things may be undone by the agents and causes by which they are done. What revelation gives, revelation takes away; what Providence gives, Providence takes away. GOD ordained by miracle, He reversed by miracle, the Jewish election; He promoted in the way of Providence, and He cast down by the same way, the Roman empire. “The powers that be, are ordained of GOD,” while they be, and have a claim on our obedience. When they cease to be, they cease to have a claim. They cease to be, when GOD removes them. He may be considered to remove them when He undoes what He had done. The Jewish election did not cease to be, when the Jews went into captivity: this was an event in Providence; and what miracle had ordained, it was miracle that annulled. But the Roman power ceased to be when the barbarians overthrew it; for it rose by the sword, and it therefore perished by the sword. The Gospel Ministry began in

CHRIST and His Apostles ; and what they began, they only can end. The Papacy began in the exertions and passions of man ; and what man can make, man can destroy. Its jurisdiction, while it lasted, was "ordained of GOD;" when it ceased to be, it ceased to claim our obedience ; and it ceased to be at the Reformation. The Reformers, who could not destroy a Ministry, which the Apostles began, could destroy a Dominion which the Popes founded.

Perhaps the following passage will throw additional light upon this point :—

“ The Anglican view of the Church has ever been this: that its portions need not otherwise have been united together for their essential completeness, than as being descended from one original. They are like a number of colonies sent out from a mother-country. . . . Each Church is independent of all the rest, and is to act on the principle of what may be called Episcopal independence, except, indeed, so far as the civil power unites any number of them together. . . . Each diocese is a perfect independent Church, sufficient for itself ; and the communion of Christians one with another, and the unity of them altogether, lie, not in a mutual understanding, intercourse, and combination, not in what they do in common, but in what they are and have in common, in their possession of the Succession, their Episcopal form, their Apostolical faith, and the use of the Sacraments. . . . Mutual intercourse is but an *accident* of the Church, not of its essence. . . . Intercommunion is a duty, as other duties, but is not the tenure or instrument of the communion between the unseen world and this ; and much more the confederacy of sees and churches, the metropolitan, patriarchal, and papal systems, are matters of expedience or of natural duty from long custom, or of propriety from gratitude and reverence, or of necessity from voluntary oaths and engagements, or of ecclesiastical force from the canons of Councils, but not necessary in order to the conveyance of grace, or for fulfilment of the ceremonial law, as it may be called, of unity. Bishop is superior to bishop only in rank, not in real power ; and the Bishop of Rome, the head of the Catholic world, is not the centre of unity, except as having a

primacy of order. Accordingly, even granting for argument's sake, that the English Church violated a duty in the 16th century, in releasing itself from the Roman supremacy, still it did not thereby commit that special sin, which cuts off from it the fountains of grace, and is called schism. It was essentially complete without Rome, and naturally independent of it ; it had, in the course of years, whether by usurpation or not, come under the supremacy of Rome ; and now, whether by rebellion or not, it is free from it : and as it did not enter into the Church invisible by joining Rome, so it was not cast out of it by breaking from Rome. These were accidents in its history, involving, indeed, sin in individuals, but not affecting the Church as a Church.

“Accordingly, the Oath of Supremacy declares ‘that no foreign prelate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, pre-eminence, or authority within this realm.’ In other words, there is nothing in the Apostolic system which gives an authority to the Pope over the Church, such as it does not give to a Bishop. It is altogether an ecclesiastical arrangement ; not a point *de fide*, but of expedience, custom, or piety, which cannot be claimed as if the Pope *ought* to have it, any more than, on the other hand, the King could of Divine right claim the supremacy ; the claim of both one and the other resting, not on duty or revelation, but on specific engagement. We find ourselves, as a Church, under the King now, and we obey him ; we were under the Pope formerly, and we obeyed him. ‘Ought’ does not, in any degree, come into the question.”

Conclusion.

One remark may be made in conclusion. It may be objected that the tenor of the above explanations is anti-Protestant, whereas it is notorious that the Articles were drawn up by Protestants, and intended for the establishment of Protestantism; accordingly, that it is an evasion of their meaning to give them any other than a Protestant drift, possible as it may be to do so grammatically, or in each separate part.

But the answer is simple :

1. In the first place, it is a *duty* which we owe both to the Catholic Church and to our own, to take our reformed confessions in the most Catholic sense they will admit; we have no duties toward their framers. [Nor do we receive the articles from their original framers, but from several successive convocations after their time; in the last instance, from that of 1662.]

2. In giving the Articles a Catholic interpretation, we bring them into harmony with the Book of Common Prayer, an object of the most serious moment in those who have given their assent to both formularies.

3. Whatever be the authority of the [Declaration] prefixed to the Articles, so far as it has any weight at all, it sanctions the mode of interpreting them above given. For its injoining the "literal and grammatical sense," relieves us from the necessity of making the known opinions of their framers, a comment upon their text; and its forbidding any person to "affix any *new* sense to any Article," was promulgated at a time when the leading men of our Church were especially noted for those Catholic views which have been here advocated.

4. It may be remarked, moreover, that such an interpretation is in accordance with the well-known general leaning of Melancthon, from whose writings our Articles are principally drawn, and whose Catholic tendencies gained for him that same reproach of popery, which has ever been so freely bestowed upon members of our own reformed Church.

“Melancthon was of opinion,” says Mosheim, “that, for the sake of peace and concord many things might be given up and tolerated in the Church of Rome, which Luther considered could by no means be endured. . . . In the class of matters indifferent, this great man and his associates placed many things which had appeared of the highest importance to Luther, and could not of consequence be considered as indifferent by his true disciples. For he regarded as such, the doctrine of justification by faith alone, the necessity of good works to eternal salvation ; the number of the sacraments ; the jurisdiction claimed by the Pope and the Bishops ; extreme unction ; the observation of certain religious festivals, and several superstitious rites and ceremonies.”—*Cent. XVI.* § 3. part 2. 27, 28,

5. Further : the Articles are evidently framed on the principle of leaving open large questions, on which the controversy hinges. They state broadly extreme truths, and are silent about their adjustment. For instance, they say that all necessary faith must be proved from Scripture, but do not say *who* is to prove it. They say that the Church has authority in controversies, they do not say *what* authority. They say that it may enforce nothing beyond Scripture, but do not say *where* the remedy lies when it does. They say that works *before* grace and justification are worthless and worse, and that works *after* grace and justification are acceptable, but they do not speak at all of works *with* God's aid, *before* justification. They say that men are lawfully called and sent to minister and preach, who are chosen and called by men who have public authority *given* them in the congregation to call and send ; but they do not add *by whom* the authority is to be given. They say that councils called *by princes* may err ; they do not determine whether councils called *in the name of* CHRIST will err.

[6. The variety of doctrinal views contained in the Homilies, as above shown, views which cannot be brought under Protestantism itself, in its greatest comprehension of opinions, is an additional proof, considering the connexion of the Articles with the Homilies, that the Articles are not framed on the principle of excluding those who prefer the theology of the early ages to that of the Reformation ; or rather let it be considered whether, considering both Homilies and Articles appeal to the Fathers and Catholic antiquity, in interpreting them by these, we are not

going to the very authority to which they profess to submit themselves.

7. Lastly, their framers constructed them in such a way as best to comprehend those who did not go so far in Protestantism as themselves. Anglo-Catholics then are but the successors and representatives of those moderate reformers; and their case has been directly anticipated in the wording of the Articles. It follows that they are not perverting, they are using them, for an express purpose for which among others their authors framed them. The interpretation they take was intended to be admissible; though not that which their authors took themselves. Had it not been provided for, possibly the Articles never would have been accepted by our Church at all. If, then, their framers have gained their side of the compact in effecting the reception of the Articles, let Catholics have theirs too in retaining their own Catholic interpretation of them.

An illustration of this occurs in the history of the 28th Article. In the beginning of Elizabeth's reign a paragraph formed part of it, much like that which is now appended to the Communion Service, but in which the Real Presence was *denied in words*. It was adopted by the clergy at the first convocation, but not published. Burnet observes on it thus:—

“When these Articles were at first prepared by the convocation in Queen Elizabeth's reign, this paragraph was made a part of them; for the original subscription by both houses of convocation, yet extant, shews this. But the *design of the government* was at that time much turned to the *drawing over the body of the nation to the Reformation*, in whom the old leaven had gone deep; and no part of it deeper than the belief of the corporeal presence of CHRIST in the Sacrament; therefore it was *thought not expedient to offend* them by so particular a definition in this matter; in which the very word Real Presence was rejected. It might, perhaps, be also suggested, that here a definition was made that went too much upon the principles of natural philosophy; which how true soever, they might not be the proper subject of an article of religion. Therefore it was thought fit to suppress this paragraph; though it was a part of the Article that was subscribed, yet it was not published, but the paragraph that follows, ‘The Body of CHRIST,’ &c., was put in its stead, and was received and published by the next convocation; which upon the matter was a full explanation of the way of CHRIST's presence in this Sacrament; that ‘He is present in a heavenly and spiritual manner, and that faith is the mean by

which He is received.' This seemed to be more theological; and it does indeed amount to the same thing. But howsoever we see what was the sense of the first convocation in Queen Elizabeth's reign; it differed in nothing from that in King Edward's time: and therefore though this paragraph is now no part of our Articles, yet we are certain that the clergy at that time did not at all doubt of the truth of it; we are sure it was their opinion; since they subscribed it, though *they did not think fit* to publish it at first; and though it was afterwards changed for another, that was the same in sense."—*Burnet on Article XXVIII.*, p. 416.

What has lately taken place in the political world will afford an illustration in point. A French minister, desirous of war, nevertheless, as a matter of policy, draws up his state papers in such moderate language, that his successor, who is for peace, can act up to them, without compromising his own principles. The world, observing this, has considered it a circumstance for congratulation; as if the former minister, who acted a double part, had been caught in his own snare. It is neither decorous, nor necessary, nor altogether fair, to urge the parallel rigidly; but it will explain what it is here meant to convey. The Protestant Confession was drawn up with the purpose of including Catholics; and Catholics now will not be excluded. What was an economy in the reformers, is a protection to us. What would have been a perplexity to us then, is a perplexity to Protestants now. We could not then have found fault with their words; they cannot now repudiate our meaning.

[J. H. N.]

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Leslie on the Regale and Pontificate.—*Leslie*.
Pusey's Sermon on November 5.—*Rivingtons*.
Bishop Wilson's *Sacra Privata*.—*Parker, Oxford*.
The Cathedral, a Poem.—*Parker, Oxford*.
Palmer's Ecclesiastical History.—*Burns*.
- Larger Works which may be profitably studied.*
- Bishop Bull's Sermons.—*Parker, Oxford*.
Bishop Bull's Works.—*University Press*.
Waterland's Works.—*Do*.
Wall on Infant Baptism.—*Do*.
Pearson on the Creed.—*Do*.
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Bingham's Works.—*Straker, London*.
Palmer on the Liturgy.—*University Press*.
Palmer on the Church.—*Rivingtons*.
Hooker, ed. Keble.—*University Press*.

A LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

THE REV. R. W. JELF, D.D

CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH,

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A L E T T E R,

&c.

MY DEAR DR. JELF,

I have known you so many years that I trust I may fitly address the present pages to you, on the subject of my recent Tract, without its being suspected in consequence that one, who from circumstances has taken no share whatever in any of the recent controversies in our Church, is implicated in any approval or sanction of it. It is merely as a friend that I write to you, through whom I may convey to others some explanations which seem necessary at this moment.

Four Gentlemen, Tutors of their respective Colleges, have published a protest against the Tract in question. I have no cause at all to complain of their so doing, though as I shall directly say, I consider that they have misunderstood me. They do not, I trust, suppose that I feel any offence or soreness at their proceeding; of course I naturally think that I am right and they are wrong; but this persuasion is quite consistent both with my honouring their zeal for Christian truth and their anxiety for the welfare of our younger members, and with my very great consciousness that, even though I be right in my principle, I may have advocated truth in a wrong way. Such acts as theirs when done honestly, as they have done them, must benefit all parties, and draw them nearer to each other in good will, if

not in opinion. But to proceed to the subject of this Letter.

I propose to offer some explanation of the Tract in two respects,—as to its principal statement and its object.

1. These Four Gentlemen, whom I have mentioned, have misunderstood me in so material a point, that it certainly is necessary to enter into the subject at some length. They consider that the Tract asserts that the Thirty-Nine Articles

“do not contain any condemnation of the doctrines of Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration of Images and Relics, the Invocation of Saints, and the Mass, as they are *taught authoritatively* by the Church of Rome, but only of certain absurd practices and opinions, which intelligent Romanists repudiate as much as we do.”

Now in this statement I understand “taught authoritatively” to mean “*taught by the authorities*” of the Church of Rome. So I find it to be understood by others. It conveys the impression that the Tract holds that the Articles contain no condemnation of the doctrine of Purgatory and the rest as taught at present by the authorised teachers of the Church of Rome. On the contrary, I consider that they do contain a condemnation of the teaching of the present Roman authorities; I only say, that, whereas they were written before the decrees of Trent, they were not directed against those decrees.*

* The phrase “authoritative teaching” may also mean teaching which is *of itself* of authority, and from which no one may lawfully dissent, e. g. the decrees of Councils. In this sense, of course, the statement of the four Tutors is correct, but it involves no very heavy accusation, and I have in these pages joined issue upon it.

The Church of Rome taught authoritatively before those decrees, as well as since. Those decrees *expressed* her authoritative teaching, and they will continue to express it, while she so teaches. The simple question is, whether taken by themselves in their mere letter, they need express it; whether they go *so far* as the teaching of the present authorities; whether they may not be held by members of the Roman Church even at this day, in a sense short of that which existing authority attributes to them.

As to the present authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome, to judge by what we see of it in public, I think it goes very far indeed to substitute another Gospel for the true one. Instead of setting before the soul the Holy Trinity, and Heaven and Hell; it does seem to me, as a popular system, to preach the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, and Purgatory. If there ever was a system which required reformation, it is that of Rome at this day, or in other words (as I should call it) Romanism or Popery. Or, to use words in which I have only a year ago expressed myself, when contrasting Romanism with the teaching of the ancient Church,—

“In antiquity, the main aspect in the economy of redemption contains Christ, the Son of God, the Author and Dispenser of all grace and pardon, the Church His living representative, the Sacraments her instruments, Bishops her rulers, their collective decisions her voice, and Scripture her standard of truth. In the Roman Schools we find St. Mary and the Saints the prominent objects of regard and dispensers of mercy, Purgatory or Indulgences the means of obtaining it, the Pope the ruler and teacher of the Church, and miracles the warrant of doctrine. As to the

doctrines of Christ's merits and eternal life and death, these are points not denied (God forbid), but taken for granted and passed by, in order to make way for others of more present, pressing, and lively interest. That a certain change then in objective and external religion has come over the Latin, nay, and in a measure the Greek Church, we consider to be a plain historical fact; a change sufficiently startling to recal to our minds, with very unpleasant sensations, the awful words, 'Though we, or an Angel from Heaven, preach any other gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him be accursed.'

On the doctrine of Purgatory, this received Romanism goes beyond the Decrees of Trent thus: the Council of Trent says,

"There is a Purgatory, and the souls there detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful, and especially by the acceptable sacrifice of the Altar."

This definition does not explain the meaning of the word Purgatory—and it is not incompatible with the doctrine of the Greeks;—but the Catechism of Trent, which expresses the existing Roman doctrine says,

"There is a Purgatorial *fire*, in which the souls of the pious are *tormented* for a certain time, and expiated, in order that an entrance may lie open to them into their eternal home, into which nothing defiled enters."

And the popular notions go very far beyond this, as the extracts from the Homily, Jeremy Taylor, &c. in the Tract shew.

Again, the doctrine of Pardons is conveyed by the Divines of Trent in these words:—

"The use of Indulgences, which is most salutary to the

Christian people, and approved by the authority of Councils, is to be retained in the Church ;”

it does not explain what the word Indulgence means :—it is unnecessary to observe how very definite and how monstrous is the doctrine which Luther assailed.

Again, the Divines at Trent say that “to Images are to be paid due honour and veneration ;” and to those who honour the sacred volume, pictures of friends and the like, as we all do, I do not see that these very words of themselves can be the subject of objection. Far otherwise when we see the comment which the Church of Rome has put on them in teaching and practice. I consider its existing creed and popular worship to be as near idolatry as any portion of that Church can be, from which it is said that “the idols” shall be “utterly abolished.”

Again, the Divines of Trent say that “it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke the Saints ;” they do not even *command* the practice. But the actual honours paid to them in Roman Catholic countries, are in my judgment, as I have already said, a substitution of a wrong object of worship for a right one.

Again, the Divines at Trent say that the Mass is “a sacrifice truly propitiatory :” words which (considering they add, “The fruits of the Bloody Oblation are through this most abundantly obtained,—so far is the latter from detracting in any way from the former,”) to my mind have no strength at all compared with the comment contained in the actual teaching and practice of the Church, as regards private masses.

This distinction between the words of the Tridentine divines and the authoritative teaching of the present Church, is made in the Tract itself, and would have been made in far stronger terms, had I not so very often before spoken against the actual state of the Church of Rome, or could I have anticipated the sensation which the appearance of the Tract has excited. I say,

“By ‘the Romish doctrine’ is not meant the Tridentine doctrine, because this article was drawn up before the decree of the Council of Trent. What is opposed is the *received doctrine of the day*, and *unhappily of this day too*, or the *doctrine of the Roman Schools*.”—p. 24.

This doctrine of the Schools is at present, on the whole, the established creed of the Roman Church, and this I call Romanism or Popery, and against this I think the Thirty-nine Articles speak. I think they speak, not of certain accidental practices, but of a *body* and *substance* of divinity, and that traditionary, an existing ruling spirit and view in the Church; which, whereas it is a corruption and perversion of the truth, is also a very active and energetic principle, and, whatever holier manifestations there may be in the same Church, manifests itself in ambition, insincerity, craft, cruelty, and all such other grave evils as are connected with these.

Further, I believe that the decrees of Trent, though not *necessarily* in themselves tending to the corruptions which we see, yet considering these corruptions exist, will ever tend to foster and produce them, as if principles and elements of them,—that is,

while these decrees remain unexplained in any truer and more Catholic way.

The distinction I have been making, is familiar with our controversialists. Dr. Lloyd, the late Bishop of Oxford, whose memory both you and myself hold in affection and veneration, brings it out strongly in a review which he wrote in the *British Critic* in 1825. Nay he goes further than any thing I have said on one point, for he thinks the Roman Catholics are not what they once were, at least among ourselves. I pronounce no opinion on this point; nor do I feel able to follow his revered guidance in some other things which he says, but I quote him in proof that the Reformers did not aim at decrees or abstract dogmas, but against a living system, and a system which it is quite possible to separate from the formal statements which have served to represent it.

“Happy was it,” he says, “for the Protestant controversialist, when his own eyes and ears could bear witness to the doctrine of Papal satisfactions and meritorious works, when he could point to the benighted wanderer, working his way to the shrine of our Lady of Walsingham or Ipswich, and hear him confess with his own mouth, that he trusted to such works for the expiation of his sins; or when every eye could behold ‘our churches full of images, wondrously decked and adorned, garlands and coronets set on their heads, precious pearls hanging about their necks, their fingers shining with rings, set with precious stones; their dead and still bodies, clothed with garments stiff with gold.’” *Hom. 3. ag. Idol.* p. 97.

On the other hand he says:

“Our full belief is that the Roman Catholics of the

United Kingdom, from their long residence among Protestants, their disuse of processions and other Romish ceremonies, have been brought gradually and almost unknowingly to a more spiritual religion and a purer faith,—that they themselves see with sorrow the disgraceful tenets and principles that were professed and carried into practice by their forefathers,—and are too fond of removing this disgrace from them, by denying the former existence of these tenets, and ascribing the imputation of them to the calumnies of the Protestants. This we cannot allow; and while we cherish the hope that they are now gone for ever, we still assert boldly and fearlessly, that they did once exist.” p. 148.

Again :

“That latria is due only to the Trinity, is continually asserted *in the Councils*; but the terms of dulia and hyperdulia, *have not been adopted or acknowledged by them in their public documents*; they are, however, *employed unanimously by all the best writers of the Romish Church*, and their use is maintained and defended by them.” p. 101.

I conceive that what “all the best writers” say is authoritative teaching, and a sufficient object for the censures conveyed in the Articles, though the decrees of Trent, taken by themselves, remain untouched.

“This part of the enquiry” [to define exactly the acts peculiar to the different species of worship] “however is more theoretical than useful; and, as every thing that can be said on it must be derived, *not from Councils*, but from *Doctors* of the Romish Church, whose authority would be called in question, it is not worth while to enter upon it now. And therefore, observing only that the *Catechism of Trent* still retains the term of, *adoratio angelorum*, we pass on, &c.” p. 102.

Again :

“ On the question whether the Invocation of Saints, professed and practised by the Church of Rome, is idolatrous or not, our opinion is this ; that in *the public Formularies* of their Church, and even in the belief and practice of the best informed among them, there is *nothing of idolatry*, although, as we have said, we deem that practice altogether unscriptural and unwarranted ; but we do consider the principles relating to the worship of the Virgin, calculated to lead in the end to positive idolatry ; and we are well convinced, and we have strong grounds for our conviction, that a large portion of the lower classes are in this point guilty of it. Whether the Invocation of Angels or of Saints has produced the same effect, we are not able to decide.” p. 113.

I accept this view entirely with a single explanation. By “ principles ” relating to the worship of the Blessed Virgin, I understand either the *received* principles as distinct from those laid down in the Tridentine statements ; or the principles contained in those statements, viewed as *practically* operating on the existing feelings of the Church.

Again :

“ She [the Church of England] is unwilling to fix upon the *principles* of the Romish Church the charge of positive idolatry ; and contents herself with declaring that ‘ the Romish doctrine concerning the Adoration as well of Images as of Relics, is a fond thing, &c. &c.’ But in regard to the universal *practice* of the Romish Church, *she adheres to the declaration of her Homilies* ; and professes her conviction that this fond and unwarranted and unscriptural doctrine has at all times produced, and will hereafter, as long as it is suffered to prevail, produce the sin of *practical* idolatry.” p. 121.

I will add my belief that the only thing which can stop this tendency in the decrees of Rome, as things are, is its making some formal declaration the other way.

Once more :

“We reject the second [Indulgences] not only because they are altogether unwarranted by any word of Holy Writ, and contrary to every principle of reason, but because we conceive the *foundations* on which they rest to be, in the highest degree, blasphemous and absurd. These *principles* are, 1. that the power of the Pope, great as it is, does not properly extend beyond the limits of this present world. 2. That the power which he possesses of releasing souls from Purgatory arises out of the treasure committed to his care, a treasure consisting of the supererogatory merits of our blessed Saviour, the Virgin, and the Saints This is the treasure of which Pope Leo, in his Bull of the present year, 1825, speaks in the following terms: ‘We have resolved, in virtue of the authority given to us by Heaven, fully to unlock that sacred treasure, composed of the merits, sufferings, and virtues of Christ our Lord, and of His Virgin Mother, and of all the Saints, which the Author of human salvation has entrusted to our dispensation.’” p. 143.

This is what our Article means by Pardons ; but it is more than is said in the Council of Trent.

I add a passage from Bramhall :

“A comprecation [with the Saints] both the Grecians and we do allow ; an ultimate invocation both the Grecians and we detest ; so do the Church of Rome *in their doctrine*, but they vary from it in their practice.” Works, p. 418.

And from Bull :

“This Article [the Tridentine] of a Purgatory after this life, *as it is understood and taught* by the Roman Church

(*that is*, to be a place and state of misery and torment, whereunto many faithful souls go presently after death, and there remain till they are thoroughly purged from their dross, or *delivered thence by Masses, Indulgences, &c.*) is contrary to Scripture, and the sense of the Catholic Church for at least the first four Centuries, &c." *Corrupt. of Rom.* §. 3.

And from Wake :

“The Council of Trent has spoken *so uncertainly* in this point [of Merits] as plainly shews that they in this did not know themselves, what they would establish, or were unwilling that others should. *Def. of Expos.* 5.

I have now said enough on the point of distinction between the existing creed, or what I understand the Gentlemen who signed the protest to call the “authoritative teaching” of the Church of Rome, and its decrees. And while this distinction seems acknowledged by our controversialists, it is a *fact* that our Articles were written *before* those decrees, and therefore are levelled not against them, but against the authoritative teaching.

I will put the subject in another way, which will lead us to the same point. If there is one doctrine more than another which characterizes the present Church of Rome, and on which all its obnoxious tenets depend, it is the doctrine of its *infallibility*. Now I am not aware that this doctrine is any where embodied in its formal decrees. Here then is a critical difference between its decrees and its received and established creed. Any one who believed that the Pope and Church of Rome are the essence of the infallibility of the Catholic Church, ought to join their Communion. If a person remains in our

Church, he thereby disowns the infallibility of Rome—and is its infallibility a slight characteristic of the Romish, or Romanistic, or Papal system, by whatever name we call it? is it not, I repeat, that on which all the other errors of its received teaching depend?

The Four Gentlemen

“are at a loss to see what security would remain, were his [the writer’s] principles generally recognised, that the most plainly erroneous doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome might not be inculcated in the Lecture Rooms of the University and from the Pulpits of our Churches.”

Here is a doctrine, which could not enter our Lecture Rooms and Pulpits—Rome’s infallibility—and if this is excluded, then also are excluded those doctrines which depend, I may say, solely on it, not on Scripture, not on reason, not on antiquity, not on Catholicity. For who is it that gives the doctrine of Pardons their existing meaning which our Article condemns? The Pope; as in the words of Leo in 1825, as above quoted from Bishop Lloyd. Who is it that has exalted the honour of the Blessed Virgin into worship of an idolatrous character? The Pope; as when he sanctioned Bonaventura’s Psalter. In a word, who is the recognised interpreter of all the Councils but the Pope?

On this whole subject I will quote from a work, in which, with some little variation of wording, I said the very same thing four years ago without offence.

“There are in fact two elements in operation within the system. As far as it is Catholic and Scriptural, it appeals

to the Fathers; as far as it is a corruption, it finds it necessary to supersede them. Viewed in its *formal principles* and authoritative statements, it professes to be the champion of past times; viewed as an active and political power, as a ruling, grasping, and ambitious principle, in a word, what is expressly called Popery, it exalts the will and pleasure of the existing Church above all authority, whether of Scripture or Antiquity, interpreting the one and disposing of the other by its absolute and arbitrary decree . . . We must deal with her as we would towards a friend who is visited by derangement . . . she is her real self only in name. . . . Viewed as a practical system, its main tenet, which gives a colour to all its parts, is the Church's infallibility, as on the other hand the principle of that genuine theology out of which it has arisen, is the authority of Catholic antiquity."—On Romanism, pp. 102—4.

Nothing more than is implied in the Tract than that Rome is *capable* of a reformation; its corrupt system indeed cannot be reformed; it can only be destroyed; and that destruction is *its* reformation. I do not think that there is any thing very erroneous or very blameable in such a belief; and it seems to be a very satisfactory omen in its favour, that at the Council of Trent such protests, as are quoted in the Tract, were entered against so many of the very errors and corruptions which our Articles and Homilies also condemn. I do not think it is any great excess of charity towards the largest portion of Christendom, to rejoice to detect such a point of agreement between them and us, as a joint protest against some of their greatest corruptions, though they in practice cherish them, though they still differ from us in other points

besides. That I have not always consistently kept to this view in all that I have written, I am well aware: yet I have made very partial deviations from it.

I should not be honest if I did not add, that I consider our own Church, on the other hand, to have in it a traditionary system, as well as the Roman, beyond and beside the letter of its Formularies, and to be ruled by a spirit far inferior to its own nature. And this traditionary system, not only inculcates what I cannot receive, but would exclude any difference of belief from itself. To this exclusive modern system, I desire to oppose myself; and it is as doing this, doubtless, that I am incurring the censure of the Four Gentlemen who have come before the public. I want certain points to be left open which they would close. I am not speaking for myself in one way or another; I am not examining the scripturalness, safety, propriety, or expedience of the points in question; but I desire that it may not be supposed to be utterly unlawful for such private Christians as feel they can do it with a clear conscience, to allow a comprecation with the Saints as Bramhall does; or to hold with Andrewes that, taking away the doctrine of Transubstantiation from the Mass, we shall have no dispute about the Sacrifice; or with Hooker to treat even Transubstantiation as an opinion which by itself need not cause separation; or to hold with Hammond that no general Council, truly such, ever did, or shall err in any matter of Faith; or with Bull, that man was in a supernatural state of grace before the fall, by which he could

attain to immortality, and that he has recovered it in Christ; or with Thorndike, that works of humiliation and penance are requisite to render God again propitious to those who fall from the grace of Baptism; or with Pearson, that the Name of Jesus is no otherwise given under Heaven than in the Catholic Church.

In thus maintaining that we have open questions, or as I have expressed it in the Tract "ambiguous Formularies," I observe, first, that I am introducing no novelty. For instance, it is commonly said that the Articles admit both Arminians and Calvinists; the *principle* then is admitted, as indeed the Four Gentlemen, whom I have several times noticed, themselves observe. I do not think it a greater latitude than this, to admit those who hold, and those who do not hold, the points above specified.

Nor, secondly, can it be said that such an interpretation throws any uncertainty upon the primary and most sacred doctrines of our religion. These are consigned to the Creed; the Articles did not define them; they existed before the Articles; they are referred to in the Articles as existing *facts*, just as the broad Roman errors are referred to; but the decrees of Trent were drawn up after the Articles.

On these two points, I may be allowed to quote what I said four years ago in a former Tract.

"The meaning of the Creed . . . is known; there is no opportunity for doubt here; it means but one thing, and he who does not hold that one meaning, does not hold it at all. But the case is different (to take an illustration)

in the drawing up of a Political Declaration or a Petition to Parliament. It is composed by persons, differing in matters of detail, agreeing together to a certain point and for a certain end. Each narrowly watches that nothing is inserted to prejudice his own particular opinion, or stipulates for the insertion of what may rescue it. Hence general words are used, or particular words inserted, which by superficial enquirers afterwards are criticised as vague and indeterminate on the one hand, or inconsistent on the other; but in fact, they all have a meaning and a history, could we ascertain it. And if the parties concerned in such a document are legislating and determining for posterity, they are respective representatives of corresponding parties in the generations after them. Now the Thirty-Nine Articles lie between these two, between a Creed and a mere joint Declaration; to a certain point they have one meaning, beyond that they have no one meaning. They have one meaning so far as they embody the doctrine of the Creed; they have different meanings, so far as they are drawn up by men influenced by the discordant opinions of the day." *Tract 82.*

These two points—that our Church allows (1) a great diversity in doctrine, (2.) except as to the Creed,—are abundantly confirmed by the following testimonies of Bramhall, Laud, Hall, Taylor, Bull, and Stillingfleet, which indeed go far beyond any thing I have said.

For instance, Bull, Bramhall, and Hall :

“What next he [a Roman Catholic objector] saith concerning our notorious prevarication from the Articles of our Church, I do not perfectly understand. He very well knows, that all our Clergy doth still subscribe them: and if any man hath dared openly to oppose the declared sense of the Church of England in any one of those Articles, he is liable to ecclesiastical censure, which would be more duly

passed and executed, did not the divisions and fanatic disturbances, first raised and still fomented by the blessed emissaries of the Apostolic See, hinder and blunt the edge of our discipline. But possibly he intends that latitude of sense, which our Church, as an indulgent mother, allows her sons in some abstruser points, (such as Predestination, &c.) not particularly and precisely defined in her Articles, but in general words capable of an indifferent construction. If this be his meaning, this is so far from being a fault, that it is the singular praise and commendation of our Church. As for our being concluded by the Articles of our Church, if he means our being obliged to give our internal assent to every thing delivered in them upon peril of damnation, it is confessed that few, yea, none of us, that are well advised, will acknowledge ourselves so concluded by them, nor did our Church ever intend we should. For she professeth not to deliver all her Articles (all I say, for *some* of them are coincident with the *fundamental* points of Christianity) as essentials of faith, without the belief whereof no man can be saved; but only propounds them as a body of safe and pious principles, *for the preservation of peace to be subscribed*, and not openly contradicted by her sons. And therefore she requires subscription to them only from the Clergy, and not from the laity, who yet are obliged to acknowledge and profess all the fundamental Articles of the Christian faith, no less than the most learned Doctors. This hath often been told the Papists by many learned writers of our Church. I shall content myself (at present) only with two illustrious testimonies of two famous Prelates. The late terror of the Romanists, Dr. Usher, [Bramhall?] the most learned and reverend Primate of Ireland, thus expresseth the sense of the Church of England, as to the Subscription required to the Thirty-Nine Articles; ‘We do not suffer any man to reject the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England at his pleasure, yet neither do we look upon them as essentials of saving faith, or

legacies of Christ and His Apostles; but in a mean, as pious opinions, *fitted for the preservation of peace and unity; neither do we oblige any man to believe them, but only not to contradict them.*' So the excellent Bishop Hall, in his *Catholic Propositions*, (truly so called,) denieth, in general, that any Church can lawfully propose any Articles to her sons, besides those contained in the common rule of Faith, to be believed under pain of damnation. His third proposition is this; 'The sum of the Christian faith are those principles of the Christian religion, and fundamental grounds and points of faith, which are undoubtedly contained and laid down in the canonical Scriptures, whether in express terms or by necessary consequence, and in the ancient Creeds universally received and allowed by the whole Church of God.'

And then in the seventh and eighth Propositions, he speaks fully to our purpose.—*Prop. 7.* 'There are and may be many theological points, which are wont to be believed and maintained, and so may lawfully be, of this or that particular Church, or the Doctors thereof, or their followers, as godly doctrines and profitable truths, besides those other essential and main matters of Faith, without any prejudice at all of the common peace of the Church.'—*Prop. 8.* 'Howsoever it may be lawful for learned men and particular Churches to believe and maintain those probable or (as they may think) certain points of theological verities, yet *it is not lawful for them to impose and obtrude the same doctrines upon any Church or person, to be believed and held, as upon the necessity of salvation; or to anathematize or eject out of the Church any person or company of men that think otherwise.*'

"As for the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, undoubtedly delivered in the Scriptures, and allowed (except the Romanists, who have so affected singularity, as to frame to themselves a new Christianity) by the whole Church of God, they are by the consent of all

Christians acknowledged to be contained in that called the Creed, or rule of Faith.

“This rule of Faith, and that also as it is more fully explained by the first General Councils, our Church heartily embraceth, and hath made a part of her Liturgy, and so hath obliged all her sons to make solemn profession thereof. To declare this more distinctly to your ladyship, our Church receiveth that which is called the Apostles’ Creed, and enjoins the public profession thereof to all her sons in her Daily Service. And if this Creed be not thought express enough fully to declare the sense of the Catholic Church in points of necessary belief, and to obviate the precise interpretations of heretics, she receiveth also that admirable summary of the Christian faith, which is called the Nicene Creed, (but is indeed the entire ancient Creed of the Oriental Churches, together with the necessary additional explications thereof, made by Fathers both of the Council of Nice against Arius, and the Council of Constantinople against Macedonius,) the public profession whereof she also enjoins all her sons (without any exception) to make in the Morning Service of every Sunday and Holy-day. This creed she professeth (consentaneously to her own principles) to receive upon this ground primarily, because she finds that the articles thereof may be proved by most evident testimonies of Scripture; although she deny not, that she is confirmed in her belief of this Creed, because she finds all the articles thereof, in all ages, received by the Catholic Church.” *Vindication of the Church of England*, 27.

And Stillingfleet :

“The Church of England makes no Articles of Faith, but such as have the testimony and approbation of the whole Christian world of all ages, and are acknowledged to be such by Rome itself, and in other things she requires

subscription to them not as Articles of Faith, but as Inferior Truths which she expects a submission to, *in order to her Peace and Tranquillity*. So the late learned L. Primate of Ireland [Bramhall] often expresseth the sense of the Church of England, as to her Thirty-Nine Articles. ‘Neither doth the Church of England,’ saith he, ‘define any of these questions, as necessary to be believed, either necessitate medii, or necessitate præcepti, which is much less; but only bindeth her sons for peace sake, not to oppose them.’ And in another place more fully. We do not suffer any man to reject the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England at his pleasure; yet neither do we look upon them as Essentials of saving Faith, or Legacies of Christ and His Apostles: but in a mean, as *pious Opinions fitted for the preservation of Unity; neither do we oblige any man to believe them, but only not to contradict them.* By which we see, what a vast difference there is between those things which are required by the Church of England, *in order to Peace*; and those which are imposed by the Church of Rome, as part of that Faith, *extra quam non est salus*, without the belief of which there is no salvation. In which she hath as much violated the Unity of the Catholic Church, as the Church of England by her Prudence and Moderation hath studied to preserve it.” *Grounds of Protestant Rel.* part i. chap. 11.

And Laud :

“A. C. will prove the Church of England a Shrew, and such a Shrew. For in her Book of Canons she excommunicates every man, who shall hold any thing contrary to any part of the said Articles. So A. C. But surely these are not the very words of the Canon nor perhaps the sense. Not the words; for they are: Whosoever shall affirm that the Articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous, &c. And perhaps not the sense. For it is one thing for a man to hold an opinion privately within himself, and another thing

boldly and publicly to affirm it. And again, 'tis one thing to hold contrary to some part of an Article, which perhaps may be but in the manner of Expression, and another thing positively to affirm, that the Articles in any part of them are superstitious, and erroneous. *On Tradition*, xiv. 2.

And Taylor :—

“ I will not pretend to believe that those doctors who first framed the Article, did all of them mean as I mean ; I am not sure they did, or that they did not ; but this I am sure, that they framed the words with much caution and prudence, and so as might abstain from grieving the contrary minds of differing men. . . . It is not unusual for Churches, in matters of difficulty, to frame their articles so as *to serve the ends of peace*, and yet not to endanger truth, or to destroy liberty of improving truth, or a further reformation. And since there are so very many questions and opinions in this point, either all the Dissenters must be allowed to reconcile the Article and their opinion, or must refuse her communion ; which whosoever shall enforce, is a great schismatic and an uncharitable man. This only is certain, that to tie the article and our doctrine together, is an excellent art of peace, and a certain signification of obedience ; and yet is a security of truth, and that just liberty of understanding, which, because it is only God's subject, is then sufficiently submitted to men, when we consent in the same form of words.”—*Further Explic. Orig. Sin.* § 6.

This view of the Articles conveyed in these extracts evidently allows, as I have said above, of much greater freedom in the private opinions of individuals, subscribing them, than I have contended for.

While I am on this subject, I will make this remark in addition :—That though I consider that the

wording of the Articles is wide enough to admit persons of very different sentiments from each other in detail, provided they agree in some broad general sense of them, (*e. g.* differing from each other whether or not there is *any* state of purification after death, or whether or not *any* addresses are allowable to Saints departed, so that they one and all condemn the Roman doctrine of Purgatory and of Invocation as actually taught and carried into effect,) yet I do not leave the Articles without their *one legitimate sense* in preference to all other senses. The only peculiarity of the view I advocate, if I must so call it, is this,—that, whereas it is usual at this day to make the particular *belief of their writers* their true interpretation, I would make the *belief of the Catholic Church* such. That is, as it is often said that infants are regenerated in Baptism, not on the faith of their *parents* but of the *Church*, so in like manner I would say the Articles are received, not in the sense of their framers, but (as far as the wording will admit or any ambiguity requires it,) in the one Catholic sense. For instance as to Purgatory, I consider (with the Homily) that the Article opposes the main idea really encouraged by Rome, that temporary punishment is a substitute for hell in the case of the unholy, and all the superstitions consequent thereupon. As to Invocation, that the Article opposes, not every sort of calling on beings short of God, (for certain passages in the Psalms are such,) but all that *trenches on worship*, (as the Homily puts it,) the question whether *ora pro nobis* be such, being open,—not indifferent indeed, but a most grave

and serious one for any individual who feels drawn to it, but still undecided by the Article. As to Images, the Article condemns all approach to idolatrous regard, such as Rome does in point of fact encourage. As to the Mass, all that impairs or obscures the doctrine of the one Atonement, once offered, which Masses, as in use in the Church of Rome, actually have done.

2. And now, if you will permit me to add a few words more, I will briefly state *why* I am anxious about securing this liberty for us.

Every one sees a different portion of society; and, judging of what is done by its effect upon that portion, comes to very different conclusions about its utility, expedience, and propriety. That the Tract in question has been very inexpedient as addressed to one class of persons is quite certain; but it was meant for another, and I sincerely think is necessary for them. And in giving the reason, I earnestly wish even those who do not admit or feel it, yet to observe that I *had* a reason.

In truth there is at this moment a great progress of the religious mind of our Church to something deeper and truer than satisfied the last century. I always have contended, and will contend, that it is not satisfactorily accounted for by any particular movements of individuals on a particular spot. The poets and philosophers of the age have borne witness to it many years. Those great names in our literature, Sir Walter Scott, Mr. Wordsworth, Mr. Coleridge, though in different ways and with

essential differences one from another, and perhaps from any Church system, still all bear witness to it. Mr. Alexander Knox in Ireland bears a most surprising witness to it. The system of Mr. Irving is another witness to it. The age is moving towards something, and most unhappily the one religious communion among us which has of late years been practically in possession of this something, is the Church of Rome. She alone, amid all the errors and evils of her practical system, has given free scope to the feelings of awe, mystery, tenderness, reverence, devotedness, and other feelings which may be especially called Catholic. The question then is, whether we shall give them up to the Roman Church or claim them for ourselves, as we well may, by reverting to that older system, which has of late years indeed been superseded, but which has been, and is, quite congenial, (to say the least,) I should rather say proper and natural, or even necessary to our Church. But if we do give them up, then we must give up the men who cherish them. We must consent either to give up the men, or to admit their principles.

Now, I say, I speak of what especially comes under my eye, when I express my conviction that this is a very serious question at this time. It is not a theoretical question at all. I may be wrong in my conviction, I may be wrong in the mode I adopt to meet it, but still the Tract is grounded on the belief that the Articles *need* not be so closed as the received method of teaching closes them, and *ought* not to be for the sake of many persons. If

we will close them, we run the risk of subjecting persons whom we should least like to lose or distress, to the temptation of joining the Church of Rome, or to the necessity of withdrawing from the Church as established, or to the misery of subscribing with doubt and hesitation. And, as to myself, I was led especially to exert myself with reference to this difficulty, from having had it earnestly urged upon me by parties I revere, to do all I could to keep members of our Church from straggling in the direction of Rome ; and, not being able to pursue the methods commonly adopted, and being persuaded that the view of the Articles I have taken is true and honest, I was anxious to set it before them. I thought it would be useful to them, without hurting any one else.

I have no wish or thought to do more than to claim an admission for these persons to the right of subscription. Of course I should rejoice if the members of our Church were all of one mind ; but they are not ; and till they are, one can but submit to what is at present the will, or rather the chastisement, of Providence. And let me now implore my brethren *to* submit, and not to force an agreement at the risk of a schism.

In conclusion, I will but express my great sorrow that I have at all startled or offended those for whom I have nothing but respectful and kind feelings. That I am startled myself in turn, that persons, who have in years past and present borne patiently disclaimers of the Athanasian Creed, or of the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, or of belief

in many of the Scripture miracles, should now be alarmed so much, when a private Member of the University, without his name, makes statements in an opposite direction, I must also avow. Nor can I repent of what I have published. Still, whatever has been said, or is to be done in consequence, is, I am sure, to be ascribed to the most conscientious feelings; and though it may grieve me, I trust it will not vex me, or make me less contented and peaceful in myself.

Ever yours most sincerely,

J. H. N.

Saturday,
March 13th, 1841.

It may be necessary to notice one or two inaccuracies in the Tract. Such is a quotation from Bp. Andrewes, instead of one from Bp. Ken; and the word *Angel* for *Spirit*, in page 36, (though the passage itself perhaps had, as a matter of expedience, better have been omitted,) and *Ratification* for *Declaration*, in page 80.

¶ Since the above was in type, it has been told me that the Hebdomadal Board has recorded its opinion about the Tract.

POSTSCRIPT.

I am led by circumstances, in order to explain the Tract more fully, to add:

1. That I have most honestly stated in the above Letter what was intended, though not expressed in the Tract, about the actual dominant errors of the Church of Rome. The Tract was no *feeler*, as it is called, put forth to see how far one might go without notice, nor is the Letter a retraction. Those who are immediately about me, know that in the interval between the printing and publication of the Tract, I was engaged in writing some Letters about Romanism, in which I spoke of the impossibility of any approach of the English towards the Roman Church, arising out of the present state of the latter, as strongly as I did a year ago, or as I do now in my Letter.

2. Again as to the object of my Pamphlet. I can declare most honestly that my reason for writing and publishing it, without which I should not have done it, and which was before my mind from first to last, was, as I have stated it in my Letter, the quieting the consciences of persons who considered (falsely as I think) that the Articles prevent them holding views found in the Primitive Church. That while I was writing it, I was not unwilling to shew that the Decrees of Trent were but partially, if at all, committed to certain popular errors, I fully grant; but even this I did with reference to others.

In explanation of the sensation which the Tract has caused, (as far as it arises from the Tract itself,) I observe:

1. The Tract was addressed to one set of persons, and has been used and commented on by another.

2. As its Author had very frequently and lately entered his protest against many things in the Roman system, he

did not see that it was necessary to repeat them, when that system did not form the direct object of the Tract; and the consciousness how strongly he had pledged himself against Rome, as it is, made him, as persons about him know full well, quite unsuspecting of the possibility of any sort of misunderstanding arising out of his statements in it.

3. Those who had happened to read his former publications, understanding him to *identify* rather than *connect* the decrees of Trent with the peculiar Roman errors, were led perhaps to think, that in speaking charitably of those decrees he was speaking tenderly of those errors. And it must be confessed that, though he has uniformly maintained the existence of the errors in the Church of Rome both before and after the Tridentine Council, yet he has sometimes spoken of the decrees rather as the essential development, than the existing symbol and index of the errors.

4. There was, confessedly, a vagueness and deficiency in some places as to the conclusions he would draw from the premises stated, and a consequent opening to the charge of a disingenuous understatement of the contrariety between the Articles and the actual Roman system. This arose in great measure from his being more bent on laying down his principle than defining its results.

5. It arose also from the circumstance that, the main drift of the Tract being that of illustrating the Articles from the *Homilies*, the doctrines of the Articles are sometimes brought out only so far as the Homilies explain them, which is in some cases an inadequate representation.

I will add, moreover, 1. That in the expression "ambiguous Formularies," I did not think of referring to the Prayer Book. And I suppose all persons will grant, that if the Articles treat of Predestination, and yet can be signed by Arminians and Calvinists, they are not clear on all points. But I gladly withdraw the phrase. And I express now, as

I often have done before, my great veneration for those ancient forms of worship which, by God's good providence, are preserved to us.

2. That I did not mean at all to assert that persons called High-Churchmen have a difficulty in holding Catholic principles consistently with a subscription to the Articles; on the contrary, I observe in the Tract, that "the objection" on this score "is groundless;" yet that there are many who have felt it, however causelessly, I know, and certainly *have* said.

3. That I had no intention whatever of implying that there are not many persons of Catholic views in our Church, and those more worthy of consideration than myself, who deny that the Reformers were uncatholic. I consider the question quite an open one.

4. That, in implying that certain modified kinds of Invocation, veneration of Relics, &c. might be Catholic, I did not mean to rule it, that they were so; but considered it an open question, whether they were or not, which I did not wish decided one way or the other, and which I considered the Articles left open. At the same time it is quite certain, that such practices as the Invocation of Saints, cannot justly be called Catholic in the same sense in which the doctrine of the Incarnation is, or the Episcopal principle.

5. That my mode of interpreting the Articles is not of a lax and indefinite character, but one which goes upon a plain and intelligible principle, viz. that of the Catholic sense; or, in the words of the Tract, "in the most Catholic sense they will admit."

W. G. Ward

A LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

RICHARD,

LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD,

ON OCCASION OF No. 90,

IN THE SERIES CALLED

THE TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

BY J. H. NEWMAN, B. D.

VICAR OF ST. MARY THE VIRGIN'S, OXFORD.

OXFORD,

JOHN HENRY PARKER :

J. G. F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.

MDCCCXLI.

A L E T T E R,

8c.

MY DEAR LORD,

It may seem strange that, on receipt of a message from your Lordship, I should proceed at once, instead of silently obeying it, to put on paper some remarks of my own on the subject of it; yet, as you kindly permit me to take such a course, with the expectation that I may thereby succeed in explaining to yourself and others my own feelings and intentions in the occurrence which has given rise to your Lordship's interference, I trust to your Lordship's indulgence to pardon me any discursiveness in my style of writing, or appearance of familiarity, or prominent introduction of myself, which may be incidental to the attempt.

Your Lordship's message is as follows: That your Lordship considers that the Tract No. 90. in the Series called the Tracts for the Times, is "objectionable, and may tend to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the Church," and that it is your Lordship's "advice that the Tracts for the Times should be discontinued."

Your Lordship has, I trust, long known quite enough of my feelings towards any such expression of your Lordship's wishes, to be sure I should at

once obey it, though it were ever so painful to me, or contrary to the course I should have taken if left to myself. And I do most readily and cheerfully obey you in this instance; and at the same time express my great sorrow that any writing of mine should be judged objectionable by your Lordship, and of a disturbing tendency, and my hope that in what I write in future I shall be more successful in approving myself to your Lordship.

I have reminded your Lordship of my willingness on a former occasion to submit myself to any wishes of your Lordship, had you thought it advisable at that time to signify them. In your Lordship's Charge in 1838, an allusion was made to the Tracts for the Times. Some opponents of the Tracts said that your Lordship treated them with undue indulgence. I will not imply that your Lordship can act otherwise than indulgently to any one, but certainly I did feel at the time, that in the midst of the kindness you shewed to me personally, you were exercising an anxious vigilance over my publication, which reminded me of my responsibility to your Lordship. I wrote to the Archdeacon on the subject, submitting the Tracts entirely to your Lordship's disposal. What I thought about your Charge will appear from the words I then used to him. I said, "A Bishop's lightest word *ex Cathedrâ*, is heavy. His judgment on a book cannot be light. It is a rare occurrence." And I offered to withdraw any of the Tracts over which I had control, if I were informed which were those to which your Lordship had objections. I afterwards wrote to your Lordship to this effect: that

“ I trusted I might say sincerely, that I should feel a more lively pleasure in knowing that I was submitting myself to your Lordship’s expressed judgment in a matter of that kind, than I could have even in the widest circulation of the volumes in question.” Your Lordship did not think it necessary to proceed to such a measure, but I felt, and always have felt, that, if ever you determined on it, I was bound to obey.

Accordingly on the late occasion, directly I heard that you had expressed an unfavourable opinion of Tract 90, I again placed myself at your disposal, and now readily submit to the course on which your Lordship has finally decided in consequence of it. I am quite sure that in so doing I am not only fulfilling a duty I owe to your Lordship, but consulting for the well-being of the Church, and benefiting myself.

And now, in proceeding to make some explanations in addition, which your Lordship desires of me, I hope I shall not say a word which will seem like introducing discussion before your Lordship. It would ill become me to be stating private views of my own, and defending them, on an occasion like this. If I allude to what has been maintained in the Tracts, it will not be at all by way of maintaining it in these pages, but in illustration of the impressions and the drift with which they have been written. I need scarcely say they are thought by many to betray a leaning towards Roman Catholic error, and a deficient appreciation of our own truth; and your Lordship wishes me to shew that

these apprehensions have no foundation in fact. This I propose to do, and that by extracts from what I have before now written on the subject, which, while they can be open to no suspicion of having been provided to serve an occasion, will, by being now cited, be made a second time my own.

2. First, however, I hope to be allowed to make one or two remarks by way of explaining some peculiarities in the Tracts which at first sight might appear, if not to tend toward Romanism, at least to alienate their readers from that favoured communion in which God's good providence has placed us.

I know it is a prevalent idea, and entertained by persons of such consideration that it cannot be lightly treated, that many of the Tracts are the writing of persons who either are ignorant of what goes on in the world, and are gratifying their love of antiquarian research or of intellectual exercise at any risk; or, who are culpably reckless of consequences, or even find a satisfaction in the sensation or disturbance which may result from such novelties or paradoxes as they may find themselves in a condition to put forward. It is thought, that the writers in question often have had no aim at all in what they have hazarded, that they did not mean what they said, that they did not know the strength of their own words, and that they were putting forth the first crude notions which came into their minds; or that they were pursuing principles to their consequences as a sort of pastime, and developing their own theories in grave practical mat-

ters, in which no one should move without a deep sense of responsibility. In fact, that whatever incidental or intrinsic excellence there may be in the Tracts, and whatever direct or indirect benefits have attended them, there is much in them which is nothing more or less than mischievous, and convicts its authors of a wanton inconsiderateness towards the feelings of others.

I am very far from saying that there is any one evil temper or motive which may not have its share in any thing that I write myself; and it does not become me to deny the charge as far as it is brought against me, though I am not conscious of its justice. But still I would direct attention to this circumstance, that what persons who are not in the position of the writers of the Tracts set down to wantonness, may have its definite objects, though those objects be not manifest to those who are in other positions. I am neither maintaining that those objects are real, or important, or defensible, or pursued wisely or seasonably; but if they exist in the mind of the writers, I trust they will serve so far as to relieve them from the odious charge of scattering firebrands about without caring for or apprehending consequences.

May I then, without (as I have said) at all assuming the soundness of the doctrines to be mentioned, or by mentioning them seeking indirectly a sanction for them from your Lordship, be allowed to allude to one or two Tracts, merely in illustration of what I have said?

One of the latest Tracts is written upon "The

Mysticism attributed to the Early Fathers of the Church." It discusses the subject of the mystical interpretation of nature and Scripture with a learning and seriousness which no one will wish to deny; but the question arises, and has actually been asked, why discuss it at all? why startle and unsettle the Christian of this age by modes of thought which are now unusual and strange; and which being thus fixed upon the Fathers, serve but to burden with an additional unpopularity an authority which the Church of England has ever revered, ever used in due measure to support her own claims upon the attachment of her children? But the state of the case has been this. For some years the argument in favour of our Church drawn from Antiquity has been met by the assertion, that that same Antiquity held also other opinions which no one now would think of maintaining; that if it were mistaken in one set of opinions, it might be in the other; that its mistakes were of a nature which argued feebleness of intellect, or unsoundness of judgment, or want of logical acumen in those who held them, which would avail against its authority in the instance in which it was used, as well as in that in which it was passed over. Moreover it was said that those who used it in defence of the Church knew this well, but were not honest enough to confess it. They were challenged to confess or deny the charges thus brought against the Fathers; and, since to deny the fact was supposed impossible, they were bid to draw out a case, such, as either to admit of a defence of the fact on grounds of reason,

or of its surrender without surrendering the authority of the Fathers altogether.

Such challenges, and they have not been unfrequent, afford, I conceive, a sufficient reason for any one who considers that the Church of England derives essential assistance from Christian antiquity in her interpretation of Scripture, to enter upon the examination of the particular objections by which certain authors have assailed its authority. Yet it is plain that by those who had not heard of their writings, such an examination would be considered a wanton mooting of points which no one had called in question.

Again, much animadversion has been expressed, and in quarters which claim the highest deference, upon the Tract upon "Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge." Yet I do not think it will be called a wanton exercise of ingenuity. Not only does it bear marks, which no reader can mistake, of deep earnestness, but it in fact originated in a conviction in the mind of the writer of certain actual evils at present resulting from the defective appreciation with which the mass of even religious men regard the mysteries and privileges of the Gospel.

And another Tract, which has experienced a great deal of censure, is that which is made up of Selections from the Roman Breviary. I will not here take upon me to say a word in its defence, except to rescue its author from the charge of wantonness. He had observed what a very powerful source of attraction the Church of Rome possessed in her devotional Services, and he wished, judiciously or

not, to remove it by claiming it for ourselves. He was desirous of shewing, that such Devotions would be but a continuation in private of those public Services which we use in Church; and that they might be used by individuals with a sort of fitness, (removing such portions as were against the Anglican creed or practice,) *because* they were a continuation. He said, in the opening of the Tract,

“It will be attempted to wrest a weapon out of our adversaries’ hands; who have in this, as in many other instances, appropriated to themselves a treasure which was ours as much as theirs. . . . It may suggest . . . character and matter for our private devotions, over and above what our Reformers have thought fit to adopt into our public Services; a use of it which will be but carrying out and completing what they have begun.” *Tract 75.*

I repeat it, that I have no intention here of defending the proceeding except from the charge of wantonness; and with that view I would add, that though there is a difference not to be mistaken between a book published by authority and an anonymous Tract, yet, as far as its object is concerned, it is not very unlike the publication of Bishop Cosin’s Hours of Prayer, of which I hope I may be permitted to remind your Lordship in the words of the recent Editor.

“At the first coming of the Queen Henrietta into England, she and her French ladies, it appears, were equally surprised and dissatisfied at the disregard of the hours of Prayer, and the want of Breviaries. Their remarks, and perhaps the strength of their arguments, and the beauty of many of their books, induced the Protestant ladies of the house-

hold, to apply to King Charles. The King consulted Bishop White as to the best plan of supplying them with Forms of Prayer, collected out of already approved Forms. The Bishop assured him of the ease and the great necessity of such a work, and chose Cosin as the fittest person to frame the Manual. He at once undertook it, and in three months finished it and brought it to the King. The Bishop of London (Mountain), who was commanded to read it over and make his report, is said to have liked it so well, that instead of employing a Chaplain as was usual, he gave it an "*imprimatur*" under his own hand. There were at first only two hundred copies printed. There was, as Evelyn tells us, nothing of Cosin's own composure, nor any name set as author to it, but those necessary prefaces, &c., touching the times and seasons of Prayer, all the rest being entirely translated and collected out of an Office published by authority of Queen Elizabeth and out of our own Liturgy. 'This,' adds Evelyn, 'I rather mention to justify that industrious and pious Dean, who had exceedingly suffered by it, as if he had done it of his own head to introduce Popery, from which no man was more averse, and who was one who, in this time of temptation and apostasy, held and confirmed many to our Church.'

"The book soon grew into esteem, and justified the judgment which had been passed upon it, so that many who were at first startled at the title, 'found in the body of it so much piety, such regular forms of divine worship, such necessary consolations in special exigencies, that they reserved it by them as a jewel of great price and value.' 'Not one book,' it was said, 'was in more esteem with the Church of England, next to the Office of the Liturgy itself.' It appears, in fact, to have become exceedingly popular, and ran through ten editions, the last of which was published in 1719." *Preface to Cosin's Devotions*, p. xi.—xiii.

3. There has been another, and more serious pecu-

liarity in the line of discussion adopted in the Tracts, which, whatever its merits or demerits, has led to their being charged, I earnestly hope groundlessly, with wanton innovation on things established. I mean the circumstance that they have attempted to defend our Ecclesiastical system upon almost first principles. The *immediate* argument for acquiescing in what is established is that it *is* established: but when what has been established is in course of alteration, (and this evil was partly realized, and feared still more, eight years since,) the argument ceases, and then one is driven to considerations which are less safe because less investigated, which it is impossible at once to survey in all their bearings, or to have confidence in, that they will not do a disservice to the cause we are defending as well as a benefit. It seemed safe at the period in question, when the immediate and usual arguments failed, to recur to those which were used by our divines in the seventeenth century, and by the most esteemed in the century which followed, and down to this day. But every existing establishment, whatever be its nature, is a *fact*, a thing *sui simile*, which cannot be resolved into any one principle, nor can be defended and built up upon one idea. Its position is the result of a long history, which has moulded it, and stationed it, in the form and place which characterize it. It has grown into what it is by the influence of a number of concurrent causes in time past, and in consequence no one first principle can be urged in its defence, but what in some other respect or measure may also possibly be urged against it. This applies, I conceive, as to

all social institutions, so to the case of our religious establishment and system at this day. It is a matter of extreme difficulty and delicacy, to say the least, so to defend them in an argumentative discussion in one respect as not to tend to unsettle them in another. And all but minds of the greatest powers, or even genius, will find nothing left to them, if they do attempt it, but to strike a balance between gain and loss, and to attempt to do the most good on the whole.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood as if, in thus speaking, I meant to justify to your Lordship the consequences which have followed under these circumstances from the attempts of the Tracts for the Times in defence of the Church. I am but shewing that, even though evil has resulted, it need not have been wanton evil. Nor am I at all insinuating, that our established system is necessarily in fault, because it was exposed to this inconvenience; rather, as I have said, the cause lies in the nature of things, abstract principles being no sufficient measure of matters of fact. There cannot be a clearer proof of this than will be found in a reference to that antagonist system, which it has been the object of the Tracts in so great a measure to oppose. I do not put the case of Rome and her defenders as parallel to that between the Tracts and our own Church, of course; it would be preposterous to do so; but it may avail as an *à fortiori* argument, considering how systematic and complete the Roman system is, and what transcendent ability is universally allowed to Bossuet. Yet even Bossuet,

so great a controversialist, could not defend Romanism, so perfect a system, without doing a harm while he did a service. At least we may fairly conclude, that what the authorities of the Church of Rome thought to be a disservice to it, really was so at the time, though in the event it might prove a benefit. Dr. Maclaine in a note on his translation of Mosheim, observes of Bossuet's Exposition: "It is remarkable that nine years passed before this book could obtain the Pope's approbation. Clement X. refused it positively. Nay, several Roman Catholic Priests were rigorously treated and severely persecuted for preaching the doctrine contained in the Exposition of Bossuet, which was moreover formally condemned by the University of Louvain in the year 1685, and declared to be scandalous and pernicious. The Sorbonne also disavowed the doctrine contained in that book." (Vol. v. p. 126.)

I am not presuming to draw an illustration from the history of Bossuet, except as regards his intention and its result. No one can accuse him of wantonness. What happened to him in spite of great abilities, may happen to others in defect of them.

Several obvious illustrations may be given from the controversies to which the Tracts for the Times have given rise. Much attention, for instance, has of late years been paid by learned men to the question of the origin of our public Services. The Tracts have made use of the results of their investigations with a view of exalting our ideas of the

sacredness of our Eucharistical Rite; but in proportion as they have discerned what may be truly called an awful light resting on its component parts, they have discovered also that those parts have experienced some change in their disposition and circumstances by the hand of time; and accordingly, the higher appreciation the Tracts tend to create of the substance of the Service in the minds of their readers, the greater regret do they incidentally infuse, were they ever so unwilling to do so, that any external causes should have interfered with the shape in which we at this day receive it. The effect then has been to raise our reverence towards the whole indefinitely, yet to fling around that reverence somewhat of a melancholy feeling. I am not defending either process or result, but shewing how good and evil have gone together.

Again, as regards the doctrine of Purgatory, that the present Roman doctrine was not Catholically received in the first ages, is as clear as any fact of history. But there is an argument which Roman controversialists use in its favour, founded on a fact of very early antiquity, the practice of praying for the faithful departed. To meet this objection, the Tracts gave a reprint of Archbishop Ussher's chapter on the subject in his Answer to a Jesuit, in which he shews that the objects of those prayers were very different from those which the Roman doctrine of Purgatory requires. Thus the argument in question is effectually overthrown, but at the expense of incidentally bringing to light a primitive practice confessedly uncongenial to our present views of reli-

gion. In other words, if the Churchman is by the result of the discussion confirmed against Romanism, he has been incidentally, and for the moment, (I cannot deny it,) unsettled in some of his existing opinions.

Or again, the charge brought against the defenders of Baptismal Regeneration has commonly been, that such a doctrine explained away regeneration, and made a mere name and a shadow of that gift of which Scripture speaks so awfully. We answer, "So far from it, every one is in a worse condition for being regenerate, if he is not in a better. If he resist the grace he has received, it is a burden to him, not a blessing. He cannot take it for granted, that all is right with his soul, and think no more about it; for the gift involves responsibilities as well as privileges." And thus, while engaged in maintaining the truth, that all Christians are in a state of grace, we incidently elicit the further truth, that sin after Baptism is a heavier matter than sin before it; or, in maintaining the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, we introduce the doctrine of repentance. We fortify our brethren in one direction; and may be charged with unsettling them in another.

Or again, in defending such doctrines and practices of the Church as Infant Baptism or the Episcopal Succession, the Tracts have argued that they rested on substantially the same basis as the Canon of Scripture, viz. the testimony of ancient Christendom. But to those who think this basis weak, the argument becomes a disparagement of the Canon, not a recommendation of the Creed.

My Lord, I have not said a word to imply that this disturbing and unsettling process is indissolubly connected with argumentative efforts in defence of our own system. I only say, that the good *naturally* runs into the evil; and so, without entering into the question whether or how they might have been kept apart in the Tracts, I am accounting for what looks like wantonness, yet I trust is not.

And perhaps I may be permitted to add, that our difficulties are much increased in a place like this, where there are a number of persons of practised intellects, who with or without unfriendly motives are ever drawing out the ultimate conclusions in which our principles result, and forcing us to affirm or deny what we would fain not consider or not pronounce upon. I am not complaining of this as unfair to us at all, but am shewing that we may have said extreme things, yet not from any wanton disregard of the feelings and opinions of others. The appeal is made to reason, and reason has its own laws, and does not depend on our will to take the more or less; and this is not less the case as regards the result, even though it be false reason which we follow, and our conclusions be wrong from our failing to detect the counteracting considerations which would avert the principles we hold from the direction in which we pursue them. And a conscientious feeling sometimes operates to keep men from concealing a conclusion which they think they see involved in their principles, and which others see not; and moreover a dread of appearing disingenuous

to others, who are directing their minds to the same subjects.

An instance has occurred in point quite lately as regards a subject introduced into Tract 90, which I am very glad to have an opportunity of mentioning to your Lordship. I have said in the Postscript of a Letter which I have lately addressed to Dr. Jelf, that the "vagueness and deficiency" of some parts of the Tract, in the conclusions drawn from the premises stated, arose in great measure from the author's being "more bent on laying down his principle than defining its results." In truth I was very unwilling to commit the view of the Articles which I was taking, to any precise statement of the ultimate approaches towards the Roman system allowed by our own. To say *how far* a person may go, is almost to tempt him to go up to the boundary line. I am far from denying that an evil arose from the vagueness which ensued, but it arose mainly from this feeling. Accordingly I left, for instance, the portion which treated of the Invocation of Saints without any definite conclusion at all, after bringing together various passages in illustration. However, friends and opponents discovered that my premises required, what I was very unwilling to state categorically, for various reasons, that the *ora pro nobis* was not on my shewing necessarily included in the invocation of Saints which the Article condemns. And in my Letter to Dr. Jelf, I have been obliged to declare this, under a representation that to pass it over would be considered disingenuous. I avail myself, however, of

the opportunity which this Letter to your Lordship affords me, without any suggestion as your Lordship knows, from yourself, or from any one else, to state as plainly as I can, lest my brethren should mistake me, my great apprehension concerning the use even of such modified invocations. Every feeling which interferes with God's sovereignty in our hearts, is of an idolatrous nature; and, as men are tempted to idolize their rank and substance, or their talent, or their children, or themselves, so may they easily be led to substitute the thought of Saints and Angels for the one supreme idea of their Creator and Redeemer, which should fill them. It is nothing to the purpose to urge the example of such men as St. Bernard in defence of such invocations. The holier the man, the less likely are they to be injurious to him; but it is another matter entirely when ordinary persons do the same. There is much less of awe and severity in the devotion which rests upon created excellence as its object, and worldly minds will gladly have recourse to it, to be saved the necessity of lifting up their eyes to their Sanctifier and Judge. And the multitude of men are incapable of many ideas; one is enough for them, and if the image of a Saint is admitted into their heart, he occupies it, and there is no room for Almighty God. And moreover there is the additional danger of *presumptuousness* in addressing Saints and Angels; by which I mean cases when men do so from a sort of curiosity, as the heathen might feel towards strange and exciting rites of worship, not with a clear conscience and spontane-

ously, but rather with certain doubts and misgivings about its propriety, and a secret feeling that it does not become them, and a certain forcing of themselves in consequence.

4. Unless your Lordship had ordered me to speak my mind on these subjects, I should feel that in these reflections I was adopting a tone very unlike that which becomes a private Clergyman addressing his Diocesan; but, encouraged by the notion that I am obeying your wishes, I will proceed in what I feel it very strange to allow myself in, though I do so. And, since I have been naturally led into the subject of Romanism, I will continue it, and explain the misapprehension which has been entertained of my views concerning it.

I do not wonder that persons who happen to fall upon certain writings of mine, and are unacquainted with others, and, as is natural, do not understand the sense in which I use certain words and phrases, should think that I explain away the differences between the Roman system and our own, which I hope I do not. They find in what I have written, no abuse, at least I trust not, of the individual Roman Catholic, nor of the Church of Rome, viewed abstractedly as a Church. I cannot speak against the Church of Rome, viewed in her formal character, as a true Church, since she is "built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief Corner-stone." Nor can I speak against her private members, numbers of whom, I trust, are God's people, in the way to Heaven, and one with us in heart, though not in profession. But what

I have spoken, and do strongly speak against is, that energetic system and engrossing influence in the Church *by which* it acts towards us, and meets our eyes, like a cloud filling it, to the eclipse of all that is holy, whether in its ordinances or its members. This system I have called in what I have written, Romanism or Popery, and by Romanists or Papists I mean all its members, so far as they are under the power of these principles; and while, and so far as this system exists, and it does exist now as fully as heretofore, I say that we can have no peace with that Church, however we may secretly love its particular members. I cannot speak against its private members; I should be doing violence to every feeling of my nature if I did, and your Lordship would not require it of me. I wish from my heart we and they were one; but we cannot, without a sin, sacrifice truth to peace; and, in the words of Archbishop Laud, "till Rome be other than it is" we must be estranged from her.

This view which, not inconsistently, I hope, with our chief divines, I would maintain against the Roman errors, seems to me to allow at once of zeal for the truth, and charity towards individuals and towards the Church of Rome herself. It presents her under a twofold aspect, and while recognizing her as an appointment of God on the one hand, it leads us practically to shun her, as beset with heinous and dangerous influences on the other. It is drawn out in the following extracts, under which I have thought it best to set it before your Lordship, rather than in statements made for the occasion, for the

reason I have given above. I think they will serve to shew, consistently with those which I made in my Letter to Dr. Jelf, both the real and practical stand I would make against Romanism, yet the natural opening there is for an unfounded suspicion that I feel more favourably towards it than I do.

“Our controversy with Romanists,” I say, “turns more upon facts than upon first principles; with Protestant sectaries it is more about principles than about facts. This general contrast between the two religions, which I would not seem to extend beyond what the sober truth warrants, for the sake of an antithesis, is paralleled in the common remark of our most learned controversialists, that Romanism *holds the foundation, or is the truth overlaid with corruptions*. This is saying the same thing in other words. They discern in it the great outlines of primitive Christianity, but they find them touched, if nothing worse, touched and tainted by error, and so made dangerous to the multitude,—dangerous except to men of spiritual minds, who can undo the evil, arresting the tendencies of the system by their own purity, and restoring it to the sweetness and freshness of its original state. The very force of the word *corruption*, implies that this is the peculiarity of Romanism. All error indeed of whatever kind, may be called a corruption of truth; still we properly apply the term to such kinds of error as are not denials but perversions, distortions, or excesses of it. Such is the relation of Romanism towards true Catholicity. . . .

“The same view of Romanism is implied, when we call our ecclesiastical changes in the sixteenth century a Reformation. A building has not been reformed or repaired, when it has been pulled down and built up again; but the word is used when it has been left substantially what it was before, only amended or restored in detail. In like manner we Anglo-Catholics do not profess a different religion from

the Romanists, we profess their Faith *all but* their corruptions.

“Again, this same character of Romanism as a perversion, not a contradiction of Christian Truth, is confessed as often as members of our Church in controversy with it contend, as they may rightly do, that it must be judged, not by the formal decrees of the Council of Trent, as its advocates are fond of doing, but by its practical working and its existing state in the countries which profess it. Romanists would fain confine us in controversy to the consideration of the bare and acknowledged principles of their Church; we consider this to be an unfair restriction; why? because we conceive that Romanism is far more faulty in its details than in its formal principles, and that Councils, to which its adherents would send us, have more to do with its abstract system than with its practical working; that the abstract system contains, for the most part, *tendencies* to evil, which the actual working brings out, thus supplying illustrations of that evil which is really though latently contained in principles capable in themselves of an honest interpretation. Thus for instance, the decree concerning Purgatory might be charitably made almost to conform to the doctrine of St. Austin, or St. Chrysostom, were it not for the comment on it afforded by the popular belief as existing in those countries which hold it, and by the opinions of the Roman schools.” *On Romanism*, p. 50—54.

Again,

“I have been speaking of Romanism, not as an existing political sect among us, but considered in itself, in its abstract system, and in a state of quiescence. Viewed indeed in action, and as realized in its present partisans, it is but one out of the many denominations which are the disgrace of our age and country. In temper and conduct it does but resemble that unruly Protestantism which lies on our other side, and it submits without reluctance to be

allied and to act with it towards the overthrow of a purer religion The reproach of the present Romanists, is that they are inconsistent ; and it is a reproach which is popularly felt to be just. They are confessedly unlike the loyal men who rallied round the throne of our first Charles, or who fought, however ill-advisedly, for his exiled descendants I have here considered Romanism in its abstract professions for two reasons. First, I would willingly believe, that in spite of the violence and rancour of its public supporters, there are many individuals in its communion of gentle, affectionate, and deeply religious minds ; and such a belief is justified when we find that the *necessary* difference between us and them is not one of essential principle, that it is the difference of superstition, and not of unbelief, from religion. Next, I have insisted upon it, by way of shewing what must be the nature of their Reformation, if in God's merciful counsels a Reformation awaits them. It will be far more a reform of their popular usages and opinions, and Ecclesiastical policy, or a destruction of what is commonly called Popery, than of their abstract principles and maxims." *On Romanism, p. 56, 57.*

And again,

"They profess to appeal to primitive Christianity; we honestly take their ground, as holding it ourselves; but when the controversy grows animated, and descends into details, they suddenly leave it, and desire to finish the dispute on some other field. In like manner in their teaching and acting, they begin as if in the name of all the Fathers at once, but will be found in the sequel to prove, instruct, and enjoin, simply in their own name. Our differences from them, considered not in theory but in fact, are in no sense matters of detail and questions of degree. In truth, there is a tenet in their theology which assumes quite a new position in relation to the rest, when we pass from the abstract and quiescent theory to the practical workings of the

system. The infallibility of the existing Church is then found to be its first principle, whereas, before, it was a necessary, but a secondary doctrine. Whatever principles they profess in theory, resembling or coincident with our own, yet when they come to particulars, when they have to prove this or that article of their creed, they supersede the appeal to Scripture and Antiquity by the pretence of the infallibility of the Church, thus solving the whole question, by a summary and final interpretation both of Antiquity and of Scripture." *On Romanism*, p. 59, 60.

In the following passage the Anglican and Roman systems are contrasted with each other.

"Both we and Romanists hold that the Church Catholic is unerring in its declarations of Faith, or saving doctrine; but we differ from each other as to what is the faith, and what is the Church Catholic. They maintain that faith depends on the Church, we that the Church is built on the faith. By Church Catholic, we mean the Church Universal, as descended from the Apostles; they those branches of it which are in communion with Rome. They consider the see of St. Peter, to have a promise of permanence; we the Church Catholic and Apostolic. Again, they understand by the Faith, whatever the Church at any time declares to be faith; we what it has actually so declared from the beginning. We hold that the Church Catholic will never depart from those outlines of doctrine, which the Apostles formally published; they that she will never depart in any of her acts from that entire system, written and oral, public and private, explicit and implicit, which they received and taught; we that she has a gift of fidelity, they of discrimination.

"Again, both they and we anathematize those who deny the Faith; but they extend the condemnation to all who question any decree of the Roman Church; we apply it to those only who deny any article of the original Apostolic Creed. The creed of Romanism is ever subject to

increase; ours is fixed once for all. We confine our anathema to the Athanasian Creed; Romanists extend it to Pope Pius's. They cut themselves off from the rest of Christendom; we cut ourselves off from no branch, not even from themselves. We are at peace with Rome as regards the essentials of faith; but she tolerates us as little as any sect or heresy. We admit her Baptism and her Orders; her custom is" [conditionally] "to re-baptize and re-ordain our members who chance to join her." *On Romanism*, p. 259, 260.

And I shew, in one of the Tracts, the unfairness of detaching the Canons of Trent from the actual conduct of the Roman Church for any practical purposes, while things are as they are, as follows:—

“An equally important question remains to be discussed; *viz.* What the *sources* are, whence we are to gather our opinions of Popery. Here the Romanists complain of their opponents, that, instead of referring to the authoritative documents of their Church, Protestants avail themselves of any errors or excesses of individuals in it, as if the Church were responsible for acts and opinions which it does not enjoin. Thus the legends of relics, superstitions about images, the cruelty of particular Prelates or Kings, or the accidental fury of a populace, are unfairly imputed to the Church itself... Accordingly they claim to be judged by their formal documents, especially by the decrees of the Council of Trent.

“Now here we shall find the truth to lie between the two contending parties. Candour will oblige us to grant that the mere acts of individuals should not be imputed to the body;...yet not so much as they themselves desire. For though the acts of individuals are not the acts of the Church, yet they may be the results, and therefore illustrations, of its principles. We cannot consent then to confine ourselves to a mere reference to the text of the Tridentine

decrees, as Romanists would have us, apart from the teaching of their Doctors, and the practice of the Church, which are surely the legitimate comment upon them. The case stands as follows. A certain system of teaching and practice has existed in the Churches of the Roman Communion for many centuries; this system was discriminated and fixed in all its outlines at the Council of Trent. It is therefore not unnatural, or rather it is the procedure we adopt in any historical research, to take the general opinions and conduct of the Church in elucidation of their Synodal decrees; just as we take the tradition of the Church Catholic and Apostolic as the legitimate interpreter of Scripture, or of the Apostles' Creed. On the other hand, it is as natural that these decrees, being necessarily concise and guarded, should be much less objectionable than the actual system they represent. It is not wonderful then, yet it is unreasonable, that Romanists should protest against our going beyond these decrees in adducing evidence of their Church's doctrine, on the ground that nothing more than an assent to them is requisite for communion with her: *e. g.* the Creed of Pope Pius, which is framed upon the Tridentine decrees, and is the Roman Creed of Communion, only says, 'I firmly hold that there is a Purgatory, and that souls therein detained are aided by the prayers of the faithful,' nothing being said of its being a place of punishment, nothing, or all but nothing, which does not admit of being explained of merely an intermediate state.

“ Now supposing we found ourselves in the Roman Communion, of course it would be a great relief to find that we were not bound to believe more than this vague statement, nor should we (I conceive) on account of the received interpretation about Purgatory superadded to it, be obliged to leave our Church. But it is another matter entirely, whether we who are external to that Church, are not bound to consider it as one whole system, written and unwritten,

defined indeed and adjusted by general statements, but not limited to them or coincident with them.

“The conduct of the Catholics during the troubles of Arianism, affords us a parallel case and a direction in this question. The Arian Creeds were often quite unexceptionable, differing from the orthodox only in this, that they omitted the celebrated word *Homoïasion*, and in consequence did not obviate the possibility of that perverse explanation of them, which in fact their framers adopted. Why then did the Catholics refuse to subscribe them? Why did they rather submit to banishment from one end of the Roman world to the other? Why did they become Confessors and Martyrs? The answer is ready. They interpreted the language of the creeds by the professed opinions of their framers. They would not allow error to be introduced into the Church by an artifice. On the other hand, when at Ariminum they were seduced into a subscription of one of these creeds, though unobjectionable in its wording, their opponents instantly triumphed, and circulated the news that the Catholic world had come over to their opinion. It may be added that, in consequence, ever since that era, phrases have been banished from the language of theology which heretofore had been innocently used by orthodox teachers.

“Apply this to the case of Romanism. We are not indeed allowed to take at random the accidental doctrine or practice of this or that age, as an explanation of the decrees of the Latin Church; but when we see clearly that certain of these decrees have a natural tendency to produce certain evils, when we see those evils actually existing far and wide in that Church, in different nations and ages, existing especially where the system is allowed to act most freely, and only absent where external checks are present, sanctioned moreover by its celebrated teachers and expositors, and advocated by its controversialists with the tacit consent of the whole body, under such circumstances

surely it is not unfair to consider our case parallel to that of the Catholics during the ascendancy of Arianism. Surely it is not unfair in such a case to interpret the formal document of belief by the realized form of it in the Church, and to apprehend that, did we express our assent to the creed of Pope Pius, we should find ourselves bound hand and foot, as the Fathers at Ariminum, to the corruptions of those who profess it.

“To take the instances of the Adoration of Images and the Invocation of Saints. The Tridentine Decree declares that it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke the Saints, and that the Images of Christ, and the Blessed Virgin, and the other Saints should ‘receive due honour and veneration;’ words, which themselves go to the very verge of what could be received by the cautious Christian, though possibly admitting of a honest interpretation. Now we know in matter of fact that in various parts of the Roman Church, a worship approaching to idolatrous is actually paid to Saints and Images, in countries very different from each other, as for instance, Italy and the Netherlands, and has been countenanced by eminent men and doctors, and that without any serious or successful protest from any quarter: further that, though there may be countries where no scandal of the kind exists, yet these are such as have, in their neighbourhood to Protestantism, a practical restraint upon the natural tendency of their system.

“Moreover, the silence which has been observed, age after age, by the Roman Church, as regards these excesses, is a point deserving of serious attention;—for two reasons: first, because of the very solemn warnings pronounced by our Lord and His Apostle, against those who introduce scandals into the Church, warnings which seem almost prophetic of such as exist in the Latin branches of it. Next it must be considered that the Roman Church has had the power to denounce and extirpate them. Not to mention its use of its Apostolical powers in other matters, it has had the civil

power at its command, as it has shewn in the case of errors which less called for its interference; all of which shews it has not felt sensitively on the subject of this particular evil.”
 —*Tracts for the Times*, No. 71. p. 14—18.

And in the following passage, written in the course of last year, the contrariety between the Primitive and Roman systems is pointed out.

“Allowing the Church Catholic ever so much power over the faith, allowing that it may add what it will, so that it does not contradict what has been determined in former times, yet let us come to the plain question, Does the Church, according to Romanists, know more now than the Apostles knew? Their theory seems to be that the whole faith was present in the minds of the Apostles, nay, of all Saints at all times, but in great measure as a matter of mere temper, feeling, and unconscious opinion, or implicitly, not in the way of exact statements and in an intellectual form. All men certainly hold a number of truths and act on them, without knowing it; when a question is asked about them, then they are obliged to reflect what their opinion has ever been, and they bring before themselves and assent to doctrines which before were but latent within them. We have all heard of men changing to so-called Unitarianism, and confessing on a review of themselves that they had been Unitarians all along without knowing it, till some accident tore the bandage off their eyes. In like manner the Roman Catholics, we suppose, would maintain that the Apostles were implicit Tridentines; that the Church held in the first age what she holds now; only that heresy, by raising questions, has led to her throwing her faith into dogmatic shape, and has served to precipitate truths which before were held in solution. Now this is all very well in the abstract, but let us return to the point, as to what the Apostles held and did, and what they did not. Does the Romanist mean, for instance, to tell us that St. Paul the

Apostle, when he was in perils of robbers or perils by the sea, offered up his addresses to St. Mary, and vowed some memorial to her, if she would be pleased ‘deprecari pro illo Filium Dei?’ Does he mean to say that the same Apostle, during that period of his life when as yet he was not ‘perfect’ or had ‘attained,’ was accustomed to pray that the merits of St. John the Baptist should be imputed to him? Did he or did he not hold that St. Peter could give indulgences to shorten the prospective sufferings of the Corinthians in purgatory? We do not deny that St. Paul certainly does bring out his thoughts only in answer to express questions asked, and according to the occasion; that St. John has written a Gospel, as later, so also more dogmatic, than his fellow-Evangelists, in consequence of the rise of heresy. We do not at all mean to affirm, that the sacred writers said out at one time all they had to say. There are many things we can *imagine* them doing and holding, which yet, in matter of fact, we believe they did not do, or did not hold. We can *imagine* them administering extreme unction or wearing copes. Again, there are many things which they *could* neither hold nor do, merely from the circumstances of the times or the moment. They could not determine whether general councils might or might not be held without the consent of Princes, or determine the authority of the Vulgate before it was written, or enjoin infant baptism before Christians had children, or decide upon the value of heretical baptism before there were heretics, and before those heretics were baptized. But still there are limits to these concessions; we cannot imagine an Apostle saying and doing what Romanists say and do: can they imagine it themselves? Do they themselves, for instance, think that St. Paul was in the habit of saying what Bellarmine and others say,—*Laus Deo Virginique Matri?* Would they not pronounce a professed epistle of St. Paul’s which contained these words spurious on this one ground?”

It is commonly urged by Romanists, that the Notes of their Church are sufficiently clear to enable the private Christian to dispense with argument in joining their Communion in preference to any other. Now in the following passage it is observed, that that Communion has Notes of error upon it, serving in practice quite as truly as a guide from it, as the Notes which it brings forward can be made to tell in its favour.

“Our Lord said of false prophets, ‘By their fruits shall ye know them;’ and, however the mind may be entangled theoretically, yet surely it will fall upon certain marks in Rome which seem intended to convey to the simple and honest enquirer a solemn warning to keep clear of her, while she carries them about her. Such are her denying the Cup to the laity, her idolatrous worship of the Blessed Virgin, her Image-worship, her recklessness in anathematizing, and her schismatical and overbearing spirit. Surely we have more reason for thinking that her doctrines concerning Images and the Saints are false, than that her saying they are Apostolical is true. I conceive, then, on the whole, that while Rome confirms by her accordant witness our own teaching in all greater things, she does not tend by her novelties, and violence, and threats, to disturb the practical certainty of Catholic doctrine, or to seduce from us any sober and conscientious enquirer.” *On Romanism*, p. 324, 325.

And in one of the Tracts for the Times, speaking of certain Invocations in the Breviary, I say,

“These portions of the Breviary carry with them their own plain condemnation, in the judgment of an English Christian; no commendation of the general structure and matter of the Breviary itself will have any tendency to reconcile him to them; and it has been the strong feeling

that this is really the case, that has led the writer of these pages fearlessly and securely to admit the real excellencies, and to dwell upon the antiquity of the Roman Ritual. He has felt that, since the Romanists required an unqualified assent to the *whole* of the Breviary, and that there were passages which no Anglican ever could admit, praise the true Catholic portion of it as much as he might, he did not in the slightest degree approximate to a recommendation of Romanism." *Tract 75. p. 9, 10.*

"They" [the Antiphons to the blessed Virgin] "shall be here given in order to shew clearly, as a simple inspection of them will suffice, to do, the utter contrariety between the Roman system, as actually existing, and our own; which, however similar in certain respects, are in others so at variance, as to make any attempt to reconcile them together in their present state, perfectly nugatory. Till Rome moves towards us, it is quite impossible that we should move towards Rome; however closely we may approximate to her in particular doctrines, principles, or views." *Tract 75. p. 23.*

In the foregoing passages, protests will be found against the Roman worship of St. Mary, Invocation of Saints, Worship of Images, Purgatory, Denial of the Cup, Indulgences, and Infallibility; besides those which are entered against the fundamental theory out of which these errors arise.

5. And now having said, I trust, as much as your Lordship requires on the subject of Romanism, I will add a few words, to complete my explanation, in acknowledgment of the inestimable privilege I feel in being a member of that Church over which your Lordship, with others, presides. Indeed, did I not feel it to be a privilege which I am able to seek no

where else on earth, why should I be at this moment writing to your Lordship? What motive have I for an unreserved and joyful submission to your authority, but the feeling that the Church which your Lordship rules is a divinely-ordained channel of supernatural grace to the souls of her members? Why should I not prefer my own opinion, and my own way of acting, to that of the Bishop's, except that I know full well that in matters indifferent I should be acting lightly towards the Spouse of Christ and the Awful Presence which dwells in her, if I hesitated a moment to put your Lordship's will before my own? I know full well that your Lordship's kindness to me personally, would be in itself quite enough to win any but the most insensible heart, and, did a clear matter of conscience occur in which I felt bound to act for myself, my feelings towards your Lordship would be a most severe trial to me, independently of the higher considerations to which I have alluded; but I trust I have shewn my dutifulness to you prior to the influence of personal motives; and this I have done because I think that to belong to the Catholic Church is the first of all privileges here below, as involving in it heavenly privileges, and because I consider the Church over which your Lordship presides to be the Catholic Church in this country. Surely then I have no need to profess in words, I will not say my attachment, but my deep reverence towards the Mother of Saints, when I am shewing it in action; yet that words may not be altogether wanting, I beg to lay before your Lordship the following extract from a

defence of the English Church, which I wrote against a Roman controversialist in the course of the last year.

“The Church is emphatically a living body, and there can be no greater proof of a particular communion being part of the Church, than the appearance in it of a continued and abiding energy, nor a more melancholy proof of its being a corpse than torpidity. We say an energy continued and abiding, for accident will cause the activity of a moment, and an external principle give the semblance of self-motion. On the other hand, even a living body may for a while be asleep. And here we have an illustration of what we just now urged about the varying cogency of the Notes of the Church according to times and circumstances. No one can deny that at times the Roman Church itself, restless as it is at most times, has been in a state of sleep or disease, so great as to resemble death; the words of Baronius, speaking of the tenth century, are well known: “*Dormiebat tunc plane alto, ut apparet, sopore Christus in navi, cum hisce flantibus validis ventis, navis ipsa fluctibus operiretur. Una illa reliqua consolatio piis, quia etsi Dominus dormivit, in eadem tamen navi dormivit.*” It concerns then those who deny that we are the true Church, because we have not at present this special Note, intercommunion with other Christians, to shew cause why the Roman Church in the tenth century should be so accounted, with profligates, or rather the profligate mothers of profligate sons, for her supreme rulers. And still notwithstanding life *is* a note of the Church; she alone revives, even if she declines; heretical and schismatical bodies cannot keep life; they gradually become cold, stiff, and insensible. They may do some energetic work at first from excitement or remaining warmth, as the Arians converted the Goths, though even this seems, as the history shews us, to have been an accident, for which they can claim

no praise ; or as the Nestorians spread in the East, from circumstances which need not here be noticed. But wait awhile, and ‘see the end of these men.’ ‘I myself,’ says the Psalmist, ‘have seen the ungodly in great power, and flourishing like a green bay-tree. I went by, and lo, he was gone ; I sought him, but his place could no where be found.’ Heresies and schisms, whatever be their promise at first, and whatever be their struggles, yet gradually and surely tend not to be. Utter dissolution is the scope to which their principles are directed from the first, and towards which for the most part they steadily and continually move. Or, if the principle of destruction in them, be not so living as to hurry them forward in their career, then they remain inert and motionless, where they first are found, kept together in one by external circumstances, and going to pieces as soon as air is let in upon them. Now if there ever were a Church on whom the experiment has been tried, whether it had life in it or not, the English is that one. For three centuries it has endured all vicissitudes of fortune. It has endured in trouble and prosperity, under seduction and under oppression. It has been practised upon by theorists, browbeaten by sophists, intimidated by princes, betrayed by false sons, laid waste by tyranny, corrupted by wealth, torn by schism, and persecuted by fanaticism. Revolutions have come upon it sharply and suddenly, to and fro, hot and cold, as if to try what it was made of. It has been a sort of battle-field on which opposite principles have been tried. No opinion, however extreme any way, but may be found, as the Romanists are not slow to reproach us, among its Bishops and Divines. Yet what has been its career upon the whole ? Which way has it been moving through three hundred years ? Where does it find itself at the end ? Lutherans have tended to Rationalism ; Calvinists have become Socinians ; but what has it become ? As far as its Formularies are concerned, it may be said all along to have

grown towards a more perfect Catholicism than that with which it started at the time of its estrangement; every act, every crisis, which marks its course, has been upward. It never was in so miserable case as in the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth. At the end of Elizabeth's there was a conspicuous revival of the true doctrine. Advancements were made in the Canons of 1603. How much was done under Charles the First, need not be said; and done permanently, so as to remain to this day in spite of the storm which immediately arose, sweeping off the chief agents in the work, and for a time levelling the Church to the ground. More was done than even yet appears, as a philosophical writer has lately remarked, in the Convocation of 1661. One juncture there was of a later date (1688) which seemed to threaten a relapse; yet it was the only crisis in which no Ecclesiastical act took place. The temper, however, of the Church, certainly did go back; a secular and semi-sceptical spirit came in. Now then was the time when the Church lay open to injury; yet, by a wonderful providence, the Convocation being, during this period, suspended, there was no means of making permanent impressions on its character; and thus civil tyranny was its protection against itself. That very Convocation too expired in an act of zeal and faith. In our own times, temporal defences have been removed which the most strenuous political partisans of the Church considered essential to its well-being, and the loss of which they deplored as the first steps towards its ruin. To their surprise these well-intentioned men have beheld what they thought a mere establishment, dependent on man to create and destroy, rise up and walk with a life of its own, such as it had before they and their constitution came into being. How many learned Divines have we had, even our enemies being judges! and in proportion as they were learned, so on the whole have they approximated towards the full ancient truth. Or take again those whom by a natural instinct 'all the people count as Prophets,' and will

it not be found that either altogether or in those works which are most popular, those writers are ruled by primitive and Catholic principles? No man, for instance, was an abler writer in the last century than Warburton, or more famous in his day; yet the glare is over, and now Bishops Wilson and Horne, men of far inferior powers, but of Catholic temper and principles, fill the doctor's Chair in the eyes of the many. What a note of the Church is the mere production of a man like Butler, a pregnant fact much to be meditated on! and how strange it is, if it be as it seems to be, that the real influence of his work is only just now beginning! and who can prophecy in what it will end? Thus our Divines grow with centuries, expanding after their death in the minds of their readers into more and more exact Catholicism as years roll on. Nay even our errors and heterodoxies turn to good. Wesleyanism in itself tends to heresy, if it was not heretical in the outset; but so far as it has been in the Church, it has been overruled to rouse and stimulate us, when we were asleep. Moreover look at the internal state of the Church at this moment; much that is melancholy is there, strife, division, error. But still on the whole, enlarge on the evils as you will, there is *life* there, perceptible, visible life; rude indeed, undisciplined, perhaps self-willed, but life; and not the life of death, not that heretical restlessness, which, as we have observed, only runs out the quicker for its activity, and hastens to be no more, but, we may humbly trust, a heavenly principle after all, which is struggling towards development, and gives presage of truth and holiness to come. Look across the Atlantic to the daughter Churches of England in the States; shall one that is barren bear a child in her old age? yet 'the barren hath borne seven.' Schismatic branches put out their leaves at once in an expiring effort; our Church has waited three centuries, and then blossoms, like Aaron's rod, budding and blooming and yielding fruit, while the rest are dry. And

lastly look at the present position of the Church at home; there too we shall find a Note of the true city of God, the Holy Jerusalem. She is in warfare with the world as the Church Militant should be; she is rebuking the world, she is hated, she is pillaged by the world. And as if it were providentially intended to shew this resemblance between her and the sister branches, what place she has here, that they have there; the same enemies encompassing both them and her, and the same trials and exploits lying in prospect. She has a common cause with them, as far as they are faithful, if not a common speech and language; and is together with them in warfare, if not in peace.

“Much might be said on this subject. At all times, since Christianity came into the world, an open contest has been going on between religion and irreligion; and the true Church, of course, has ever been on the religious side. This then is a sure test in every age, *where* the Christian should stand. . . . Now applying this simple criterion to the public parties of this day, it is very plain that the English Church is at present on God’s side, and therefore so far God’s Church;—we are sorry to be obliged to add that there is as little doubt on which side English Romanism is. It must be a very galling thought to serious minds who profess it, to feel that they are standing with the enemies of God, cooperating with the haters of truth and haters of the light, and thereby prejudicing religious minds even against those verities which Rome continues to hold.

“As for the English Church, surely she has Notes enough, ‘the signs of an Apostle in all patience, and signs and wonders and mighty deeds.’ She has the Note of possession, the Note of freedom from party-titles; the Note of life, a tough life and a vigorous; she has ancient descent, unbroken continuance, agreement in doctrine with the ancient Church. Those of Bellarmine’s Notes, which she certainly has not, are intercommunion with Christendom, the glory of miracles, and the prophetic

light, but the question is, whether she has not enough of divinity about her to satisfy her sister Churches on their own principles, that she is one body with them."

6. This may be sufficient to shew my feelings towards my Church, as far as statements on paper can shew them. I have already, however, referred to what is much more conclusive, a practical evidence of them; and I think I can shew your Lordship besides without difficulty that my present conduct is no solitary instance of such obedience, but that I have observed an habitual submission to things as they are, and have avoided in practice, as far as might be, any indulgence of private tastes and opinions, which left to myself perhaps I should have pursued.

And first, as regards my public teaching; though every one has his peculiarities, and I of course in the number, yet I do hope that it has not on the whole transgressed that liberty of opinion which is allowed on all hands to the Anglican Clergyman. Nay I might perhaps insist upon it, that in the general run of my Sermons, fainter and fewer traces will be found than might have been expected of those characteristics of doctrine, with which my name is commonly associated. I might without offence have introduced what is technically called High-Church doctrine in much greater fulness; since there are many who do not hold it to my own extent, or with my own eagerness, whose teaching is more prominently coloured by it. My Sermons have been far more practical than doctrinal; and this, from a dislike of introducing a character and tone of preaching very different from that which is

generally to be found. And I hope this circumstance may serve as my reply to an apprehension which has been felt, as if what I say in Tract 90 concerning a cast of opinions which is not irreconcilable with our Articles, involves an introduction of those opinions into the pulpit. Yet who will maintain, that what merely happens not to be forbidden or denied in the Articles, may at once be made the subject of teaching or observance? There is nothing concerning the Inspiration of Scripture in the Articles; yet would a Bishop allow a Clergyman openly to deny it in the pulpit? May the Scripture Miracles be explained away, because the Articles say nothing about them? Would your Lordship allow me to preach in favour of duelling, gaming, or simony? or to revile persons by name from the pulpit? or be grossly and violently political? Every one will surely appreciate the importance and sacredness of Pulpit instruction; and will allow, that though the holding certain opinions may be compatible with subscription to the Articles, the publishing and teaching them may be inconsistent with ecclesiastical station.

Those who frequent St. Mary's, know that the case is the same as regards the mode in which worship is conducted there. I have altered nothing I found established; when I have increased the number of the Services, and had to determine points connected with the manner of performing them for myself, if there was no danger of offending others, I have followed my own judgment, but not otherwise. I have left many things, which I

did not like, and which most other persons would have altered. And here, with your Lordship's leave, I will make allusion to one mistake concerning me which I believe has reached your Lordship's ears, and which I only care to explain to my Bishop. The explanation, I trust, will be an additional proof of my adherence to the principle of acquiescing in the state of things in which I find myself. It has been said, I believe, that in the Communion Service I am in the practice of mixing water with the wine, and that of course on a religious or ecclesiastical ground. This is not the case. We are in the custom at St. Mary's of celebrating the Holy Communion every Sunday, and most weeks early in the morning. When I began the early celebration, communicants represented to me that the wine was so strong as to distress them at that early hour. Accordingly I mixed it with water in the bottle. However, it became corrupt. On this I mixed it at the time. I speak honestly when I say that this has been my only motive. I have not mixed it when the Service has been in the middle of the day.

If I were not writing to my Bishop, I should feel much shame at writing so much about myself; but confession cannot be called egotism. Friend and stranger have from time to time asked for my cooperation in the attempt to gain additional power for the Church. I have been accustomed to answer that it was my duty to acquiesce in the state of things under which I found myself, and to serve God, if so be, in it. New precedents indeed, con-

firming or aggravating our present Ecclesiastical defects, I have ever desired to oppose; but as regards changes, persons to whom I defer very much, know that, rightly or wrongly, I have discountenanced, for instance, any movement tending to the repeal even of the Statutes of *Præmunire*, which has been frequently agitated, under the notion that such matters were not our business, and that we had better “remain in the calling wherein we were called.” Of course I cannot be blind to the fact that “*time* is the great innovator;” and that the course of events may of itself put the Church in possession of greater liberty of action, as in time past it has abridged it. This would be the act of a higher power; and then I should think it a duty to act according to that new state in which the Church found itself. Knowledge and virtue certainly are power. When the Church’s gifts were doubled, its influence would be multiplied a hundred fold; and influence tends to become constituted authority. This is the nature of things, which I do not attempt to oppose; but I have no wish at all to take part in any measures which aim at changes.

And in like manner I have set my face altogether against suggestions which zealous and warm-hearted persons sometimes have made of reviving the project of Archbishop Wake, for considering the differences between ourselves and the foreign Churches with a view to their adjustment. Our business is with ourselves—to make ourselves more holy, more self-denying, more primitive, more worthy our high calling. Let the Church of Rome

do the same, and it will come nearer to us, and will cease to be what we one and all mean, when we speak of Rome. To be anxious for a composition of differences, is to begin at the end. Did God visit us with large measures of His grace, and the Roman Catholics also, they would be drawn to us, and would acknowledge our Church as the Catholic Church in this country, and would give up whatever offended and grieved us in their doctrine and worship, and would unite themselves to us. This would be a true union; but political reconciliations are but outward and hollow, and fallacious. And till they renounce political efforts, and manifest in their public measures the light of holiness and truth, perpetual warfare is our only prospect. It was the prophetic announcement concerning the Elijah of the first Advent, that he should "turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers." This is the only change which promises good and is worth an effort.

What I have been saying as regards Roman Catholics, I trust I have kept steadily before me in ecclesiastical matters generally. While I have considered that we ought to be content with the outward circumstances in which Providence has placed us, I have tried to feel that the great business of one and all of us is, to endeavour to raise the moral tone of the Church. It is sanctity of heart and conduct which commends us to God. If we be holy, all will go well with us. External things are comparatively nothing; whatever be a

religious body's relations to the State—whatever its regimen—whatever its doctrines—whatever its worship—if it has but the life of holiness within it, this inward gift will, if I may so speak, take care of itself. It will turn all accidents into good, it will supply defects, and it will gain for itself from above what is wanting. I desire to look at this first, in all persons and all communities. Where Almighty God stirs the heart, there His other gifts follow in time; sanctity is the great Note of the Church. If the Established Church of Scotland has this Note, I will hope all good things of it; if the Roman Church in Ireland has it not, I can hope no good of it. And in like manner, in our own Church, I will unite with all persons as brethren, who have this Note, without any distinction of party. Persons who know me can testify that I have endeavoured to cooperate with those who did not agree with me, and that again and again I have been put aside by them, not put them aside. I have never concealed my own opinions, nor wished them to conceal theirs; but have found that I could bear them better than they me. And I have long insisted upon it, that the only way in which the members of our Church, so widely differing in opinion at this time, can be brought together in one, is by a “turning of heart” to one another. Argumentative efforts are most useful for this end under this sacred feeling; but till we try to love each other, and what is holy in each other, and wish to be all one, and mourn that we

are not so, and pray that we may be so, I do not see what good can come of argument.

7. Before concluding, there is one more subject on which I wish briefly to address your Lordship, though it is one which I have neither direct claim nor encouragement to introduce to your Lordship's notice. Yet our Colleges here being situated in your Lordship's diocese, it is natural for me to allude to the lately expressed opinion of the Heads of Houses upon the Tract which has given rise to this Letter. I shall only do so, however, for the purpose of assuring your Lordship of the great sorrow it gives me to have incurred their disapprobation, and of the anxiety I have felt for some time past from the apprehension that I was incurring it. I reverence their position in the country too highly to be indifferent to their good opinion. I never can be indifferent to the opinion of those who hold in their hands the education of the classes on which our national well-being, spiritual and temporal, depends; who preside over the foundations of "famous men" of old, whose "name liveth for evermore;" and from whom are from time to time selected the members of the sacred order to which your Lordship belongs. Considering my own peculiar position in the University, so much have these considerations pressed upon me for a long while, that, as various persons know, I seriously contemplated, some time since, the resignation of my Living, and was only kept from it by the advice of a friend to whom I felt I ought to submit myself. I say this, moreover, in explanation

of a Letter I lately addressed to the Vice-Chancellor, lest it should seem dictated either by a mere perception of what was becoming in my situation, or from some sudden softening of feeling under an unexpected event. It expressed my habitual deference to persons in station.

And now, my Lord, suffer me to thank your Lordship for your most abundant and extraordinary kindness towards me, in the midst of the exercise of your authority. I have nothing to be sorry for, except having made your Lordship anxious, and others whom I am bound to revere. I have nothing to be sorry for, but every thing to rejoice in and be thankful for. I have never taken pleasure in seeming to be able to move a party, and whatever influence I have had has been found not sought after. I have acted because others did not act, and have sacrificed a quiet which I prized. May God be with me in time to come, as He has been hitherto! and He will be, if I can but keep my hand clean and my heart pure. I think I can bear, or at least will try to bear, any personal humiliation, so that I am preserved from betraying sacred interests, which the Lord of grace and power has given into my charge.

I am, My dear Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful and affectionate Servant,

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

*Oriel College,
March 29th, 1841.*

A

FEW WORDS

IN SUPPORT OF No. 90

OF THE

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES,

PARTLY WITH REFERENCE TO

MR. WILSON'S LETTER.

OXFORD,

JOHN HENRY PARKER;

J. G. F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.

1841.

A
FEW WORDS,
&c.

ACQUIESCING as I do in the general principles advocated in Tract XC, and deeply grateful to its author for bringing forward in it a view of our formularies, full of comfort to myself and many others with whom I am acquainted, I am induced to say a few words with regard to Mr. Wilson's recently published Letter; not as being unmindful of the great evils to which direct theological controversy, unless great care be used on both sides, is apt to lead, but still considering that in the present case a view of part of our Articles, new in great measure at least to the present generation, will hardly meet with general acceptance till after full and fair discussion, and that those who feel difficulties in that view have a fair claim on those who advocate it that their objections shall at least be considered. I should not do justice to my own feelings if I did not add, that another reason which

would less disincline one to controversy on the present occasion than on most others, is the most remarkably temperate and Christian tone of the paper to which Mr. Wilson was a party, and which began the contest: a tone which may well encourage in us sanguine hopes, that the beginning having been made in such a spirit, whatever may be said on either side may be said on the whole in a temper not unworthy of the grave importance of the subject.

Mr. Wilson begins with considering the use of the word 'authoritative teaching' in the Letter of the Four Tutors. On this point I do not deny that Mr. Newman seems to have misunderstood them, but still they also appear first to have misunderstood him. I think the Tract *did* imply, that on the points mentioned in their Letter, the Articles do not condemn the decrees of the Council of Trent, and that in point of fact there is no *necessity* for any Roman Catholic either then or at the present day to hold on these points opinions which the Articles condemn. And this view of what the Tract implied is made certain by the following passage of Mr. Newman's Letter to Dr. Jelf, 'The simple
' question is, whether taken by themselves in their
' mere letter, they (the decrees of Trent) express it,
' (the present corrupt teaching of the Church of
' Rome,) whether in fact other senses short of the
' sense conveyed in (her) present teaching
' will not fulfil their letter, *and may not even now in*

‘ *point of fact be held in that Church.*’ On the other hand, when the Four Tutors consider that the Tract ‘ suggests’ that the XXXIX Articles ‘ do not ‘ contain any condemnation of the doctrines of ‘ Purgatory &c., as they are taught authoritatively ‘ by the Church of Rome, but only of certain absurd ‘ practices and opinions which intelligent Romanists ‘ repudiate as much as we do,’ they seem to have misunderstood the Tract which actually says, as quoted by Mr. Newman in his Letter, p. 10. ‘ What is opposed is the *received doctrine of the day* ‘ *and unhappily of this day too, or the doctrine of the* ‘ *Roman Schools.*’ As things have turned out, it is perhaps to be lamented that Mr. Newman did not repeat this caution in each head of Art. xxii. and he says himself, (Letter, p. 9.) ‘ this distinction ‘ would have been made in far stronger terms had I ‘ not often before spoken against the actual state of ‘ the Roman Church, or could I have anticipated the ‘ sensation which the appearance of the Tract has ‘ excited.’ And in the second edition, the Tract seems as explicit on the subject as can possibly be desired. Let me quote successively its statement on the first four of the five subjects mentioned in the Tutor’s Letter.

‘ Let it be considered then, whether on the whole the ‘ Romish doctrine of purgatory’ which the Article condemns, and which *was generally believed in the Roman Church three centuries since as well as now*, viewed in its essence, be not the doctrine that the punishment of unrighteous

Christians is temporary not eternal, and that the purification of the righteous is a portion of the same punishment: together with the superstitions and impostures, for the sake of gain, consequent thereupon.' p. 28.

'The doctrine then of Pardons spoken of in the Article is the doctrine *maintained and acted on in the Roman Church*, that remission of the penalties of sin in the next life may be obtained by the power of the Pope, with such abuses as money-payments consequent thereupon^a.' p. 31.

'On the whole, then, by the Romish doctrine of the veneration and worshipping of images and relics, the Article means all maintenance of those idolatrous honours *which have been and are paid them so commonly throughout the Church of Rome*, with the superstitions, profanities, and impurities consequent thereupon.' p. 36.

'By the doctrine of the Invocation of Saints, then, the Article means all maintenance of addresses to them which entrench upon the incommunicable honour of God alone, *such as have been, and are in the Church of Rome*, and

^a This would seem one of the passages alluded to in Mr. Newman's Postscript, in which the apparent vagueness arose 'from the circumstance, that, the main drift of the Tract being 'that of illustrating the Articles from the *Homilies*, the doctrines of the Articles are sometimes brought out only so far 'as the Homilies explain them, which is in some cases an 'inadequate representation.' In the first edition it stood. 'the 'pardons then spoken of in the Article are large and reckless 'indulgences from the penalties of sin obtained on money-payments:' which not unnaturally seems to have given many persons the impression, that the Tract did not consider the doctrine of the Pope claiming power to remit the penalties of sin in the next life, condemned by the Article, when such remission was not 'obtained on money-payments.'

such as equally with the peculiar doctrine of purgatory, pardons, and worshipping and adoration of images and relics, *as actually taught in that Church*, are unknown to the Catholic Church.' p. 42.

Mr. Newman's opinion then is, that the doctrines on these subjects condemned by the Articles are *not* taught authoritatively by the Church of Rome in the sense of *being obligatory on the belief* of each individual member of the Church, or so that *that Church is irrevocably bound to them*; they *are* taught authoritatively in that they are not merely 'practices and opinions which intelligent Romanists repudiate as much as we do,' but, 'maintained and acted on in the Roman Church,' 'actually taught in that Church,' 'an existing *ruling spirit and view in the Church*,' which is 'a corruption and perversion of the truth,' and, 'against which I think the XXXIX Articles speak.' (Letter, p. 10.) The whole passage in Mr. N.'s Letter, p. 26. from 'for instance,' to 'actually have done,' would make all this still more clear if there were room to quote it. *Authoritative teaching* may naturally mean the *teaching of those in authority*: but then individuals, members of the Roman Church, are not bound to believe such teaching, except so far as it is borne out by *that Church's authoritative statements*: the Tract considers the Articles as directed against *the authoritative teaching* so lamentably prevalent throughout the Roman Church, not the *authoritative statements* of that Church herself.

And now for the more important part of Mr. Wilson's Letter. The point which most people will perhaps feel to be brought out most forcibly in Mr. Wilson's Letter, he has expressed as follows ;

' I am not inclined either to restrain or to expand the sense of the Articles, as men may think the Homilies expound them ; nor do I recognise the Homilies as the sole or best interpreter of their sense, though they are most valuable historical documents, and contain a doctrine necessary for the times when they were composed. But Mr. N. undertook to make out his principles as applied to the XXII. and XXXI. Articles, chiefly by a reference to them as representing the sense of the Articles. " The Homily and therefore the Article," p. 26. He rested his case on ground chosen by himself ; his own ground even betrays him.' p. 17.

And we are thus led to two topics for discussion ; first, Are the Homilies legitimate interpreters of these Articles ? and, secondly, Has the Tract fairly represented the teaching of the Homilies with respect to them ? and I will take the two Articles (the twenty-second and thirty-first), to which Mr. Wilson confines his observations, separately.

Before proceeding however with the subject, let me beg persons to consider, that the mere fact of an interpretation appearing at first to them a forced interpretation, is no argument whatever that it is really so, but only that it is *new* to them. I suppose many of us may remember doctrines or opinions on various subjects which when first broached appeared to us quite ex-

travagant, and which we now hold almost as first truths. Any thing which takes us quite by surprise appears forced. I am not denying that in parts of the Tract interpretations are given which to me do not seem the most obvious, (see post, p. 26.) but I cannot consider that of the twenty-second Article as in the number. On the contrary, it does seem that nothing but long habit could have made us imagine, e. g. that ‘*doctrina Romanensium de Purgatorio*’ means *all* teaching of Purgatory, or ‘*doctrina Romanensium de invocatione Sanctorum*’ means *all* invocation of Saints. I have heard it said in the last fortnight, that the same principles which reconcile subscription to the twenty-second Article with the opinions maintained in the Tract, might reconcile subscription to the second Article with the Socinian heresy. Now I would almost stake the whole case on the fair issue of that question. Can any thing be more dissimilar in manner and tone than those two Articles? The second contains an accurately drawn up dogmatic positive statement of the high mystery on which it treats, such as the Church has ever had recourse to for the preservation of the Faith committed to her, and such as it is the tendency of the present day to consider subtle and overstrained. The twenty-second contains *no one positive statement*: it puts together four or five topics, which cannot be said to be all very closely connected with each other, and declares that ‘*doctrina Romanensium*’ on those topics is

a fond thing, &c. Would not any one naturally infer from this opposition what Mr. Newman *does* infer? that the framers of the Articles see two things before their eyes, the Creeds which have come down to them from the early ages of the Church, and the corrupt system in existence practically to a great extent overlaying these Creeds; that the former they hand down as they have received them, the latter they protest against, as they see it, generally and in the mass: not being careful to draw up accurate statements of those true principles which are contradictory to the existing abuses, nor again tracing up the latter to their ultimate principles and condemning *them*; but without busying themselves with such investigations, requiring as they would leisure, accuracy of thought, and *unity of opinion*, condemning what they saw *as* they saw it, energizing and practically active throughout the Church. Such would, I feel convinced, be the natural impressions made on our minds by this Article, but for long habit of viewing it in a different light. Still did statements of a different character exist in the Homilies, serious doubt would be thrown over such a conclusion. The Homilies are the *sole* contemporary document recognised by our Church in addition to the Prayer Book and Articles; and did they contain, what the Articles do not, carefully drawn up dogmatic statements on the subjects mentioned in this twenty-second Article, we might well consider them as our

Church's authoritative explanation of her words 'doctrina Romanensium.' These are words so general and indeterminate, as to compel us to resort for an explanation of them elsewhere: were there no other contemporary document sanctioned by our Church, then to history; but there being such, to that document. Such then is the force as regards this Article of an appeal to the Homilies: not of course that we are bound to every sentence and paragraph in them, (see Tract, p. 66.) but that the general scope and tone of them on this subject will give us at least the nearest approach to our Church's authoritative explanation of what has absolutely no meaning without such explanation, the words 'doctrina Romanensium.' And that on the whole the tone of the Homilies is precisely what we should à priori have expected from the wording of the Article, I think few will deny: we find there long and detailed protests against the existing practical system, but no attention given to the task of drawing up a consistent antagonist view: *their* tone is as negative as that of the Article.

Nor does Mr. Wilson on the whole seem to deny this, for he rather joins issue on detached sentences from the quotations in the Tract, than on the general tendency of the teaching of the Homilies^b. Still I cannot agree in his criticisms on the particular passages he does criticize. Let us first take

^b There is one exception in p. 16, to which I shall presently allude

his extract from the quotation in the Tract on the subject of purgatory.

‘ Where is, then, the third place which they call purgatory? or, where shall our prayers help and profit the dead? S. Augustin doth only acknowledge two places after this life, heaven and hell. As for the third place, he doth plainly deny that there is any such in all Scripture.’ p. 8.

Now even taking this sentence by itself, surely it is rather straining it to imply that the writer disbelieved *any* intermediate state in which the souls of the just should remain between death and the day of judgment. Yet if it do not mean this, it can mean nothing to Mr. Wilson’s purpose; for if the wording of it will admit the belief of *any* intermediate state for those who die in God’s faith and fear, it will admit the belief of a state of gradual purification, whether with pain or without: and if it be supposed to deny any intermediate state whatever, we must impute to the homilist not only a strange ignorance of what is so commonly connected with St. Augustine’s name, viz. his advocacy of a doctrine very much resembling the received Roman doctrine of purgatory, but also we must suppose that his own belief was (for I can think of no other alternative) that the soul is in a state of insensibility, from the time of its leaving the mortal body until the Great Day: a belief far from being common surely in our Church from that day to

this, and formally condemned in the Articles put forth in the time of Edward the Sixth^c. But whatever comes of the criticism on this sentence by itself, take the whole passage together, and the account given of it by the Tract will I really think commend itself to most minds as a very fair account. We need not of course suppose, that the homilist kept distinctly before his mind from first to last any definite doctrinal view: see p. 11. But the very words which follow, ‘*Chrysostom likewise is of this mind, that unless we wash away our sins in this present world, we shall find no comfort afterward: and St. Cyprian saith, &c.*’ shew what the writer had in his mind in the sentence before us. Here then shall follow the quotation from the Homily as made in the Tract, and the Tract’s comment upon it: the summing up in the second edition of the Tract, as to the doctrine concerning purgatory which it is supposed the Articles condemn, has been already introduced.

“ Now doth St. Augustine say, that those men which are cast into prison after this life, on that condition, may in no wise be holpen, though we would help them never so much. And why? Because the *sentence of God is unchangeable*, and cannot be *revoked again*. Therefore let us not deceive ourselves, thinking that either we may help others, or others may help us, by their good and charitable prayers in time to come. For, as the preacher saith, ‘ When the tree falleth, whether it be toward the south, or toward the north, in what place soever the tree falleth,

^c ‘ Qui animas defunctorum prædicant usque ad diem iudicii absque omni sensu dormire, aut illas asserunt unà cum corporibus mori . . . ab orthodoxâ fide . . . prorsùs dissentiunt.’

there it lieth:’ meaning thereby, that every mortal man *dieth either in the state of salvation or damnation*, according as the words of the Evangelist John do plainly import, saying, ‘ He that believeth on the SON of GOD hath eternal life; but he that believeth not on the SON, shall never see life, but the wrath of GOD abideth upon him,’—where is then the third place, which they call purgatory? Or where shall our prayers help and profit the dead? St. Augustine doth only acknowledge two places after this life, heaven and hell. As for the third place, he doth plainly deny that there is any such to be found in all Scripture. Chrysostom likewise is of this mind, that, unless we wash away our sins in this present world, we shall find no comfort afterward. And St. Cyprian saith, that, after death, repentance and sorrow of pain shall be without fruit, weeping also shall be in vain, and prayer shall be to no purpose. Therefore he counselleth all men to make provision for themselves while they may, because, when they are once departed out of this life, there is no place for *repentance*, nor yet for satisfaction.”—*Homily concerning Prayer*, pp. 282, 283.

“ Now it would seem, from this passage, that the Purgatory contemplated by the Homily, was one for which no one will for an instant pretend to adduce even those Fathers who most favour Rome, *viz.* one *in which our state would be changed*, in which GOD’s sentence could be reversed. ‘ The *sentence of GOD*,’ says the writer, ‘ is *unchangeable*, and cannot be revoked again; there is no place for *repentance*^d.’ ”

On the subject of pardons, the introduction made in the 2d edition of the Tract as quoted (p. 6.) will perhaps be a sufficient explanation of the author’s meaning.

On the subject of ‘ worshipping and adoration as

^d See Appendix.

well of images as of relics,' Mr. Wilson complains of the Tract as doing the same thing I had just now occasion to complain of him for doing, taking a passage apart from its context, and so laying undue stress upon it. But it will still perhaps appear to many people, that the additional passages quoted by Mr. Wilson do not really alter the state of the case. To do justice to both sides, it will be necessary to make rather a long extract from Mr. Wilson's Letter, (p. 14, 15.)

“ Here I wish to draw your attention to the passage referred to, with the quotations from the Homilies.

Tract, p. 23. “ And a verification of such an understanding of the Article is afforded us in some sentences in the Homily on Peril of Idolatry, in which, as far as regards relics, a *certain* ‘ veneration ’ is sanctioned by its tone in speaking of them, though not of course the Romish veneration.

“ The sentences referred to run as follows:—

“ In the Tripartite Ecclesiastical History, the Ninth Book, and Forty-eighth Chapter, is testified, that ‘ Epiphanius, being yet alive, did work miracles: and that after his death, devils, *being expelled at his grave or tomb, did roar.*’ Thus you see what authority St. Jerome (who has just been mentioned) and that most ancient history give unto the holy and learned Bishop Epiphanius.”

“ Here the quotation in the Tract ends, but the Homily goes on.

“ *Thus you see what authority St. Jerome, and that most ancient history, give unto the holy and learned Bishop Epiphanius, whose judgment of images in churches and temples, then beginning by stealth to creep in, is worthy to be noted.*”

“ His judgment having been shewn in

“ That when he entered into a certain church to pray, he found there a linen cloth hanging on the church door painted, and having in it the image of Christ as it were, or of some other saint; therefore when I did see the image of a man hanging in the Church of Christ, contrary to the authority of the Scriptures, I did tear it, and gave counsel to the keepers of the church that they should wind a poor man that was dead in the said cloth, and so bury him.”
Hom. ib.

Again:—

“ St. Ambrose, in his Treatise of the Death of Theodosius the Emperor, saith, ‘ Helena found the Cross, and the title on it. She worshipped the King, and not the wood, surely (for that is an heathenish error and the vanity of the wicked) but she worshipped Him that hanged on the Cross, and whose Name was written on the title,’ and so forth. See both the godly empress’s fact, and St. Ambrose’s judgment at once; they thought it had been an heathenish error, and vanity of the wicked, *to have worshipped the Cross itself, which was embued with our SAVIOUR CHRIST’S OWN precious blood.*”—*Peril of Idolatry, part 2, circ. init.*

“ In these passages the writer does not positively commit himself to the miracles at Epiphanius’s tomb, or the invention of the true Cross, but he evidently wishes the hearer to think he believes in both. This he would not do, if he thought all honour paid to relics wrong.”—
Tr. p. 24.

But if the latter passage is finished to the end of its paragraph, it stands thus:—

“ *They thought it had been an heathenish error to have worshipped the Cross itself, which was embued with our Saviour Christ’s own precious blood. And we fall down before every cross piece of timber, which is but an image of that cross.*”
—Hom.

“ This is but an argument *a fortiori*, by no means shewing that the writer wished the hearer to think he believes in the invention of the true Cross, but—if they who thought they had found it would not worship even that, much less, &c. Neither does the Homilist at all concern himself as to his hearers believing in the miracle at Epiphanius’s tomb. The miracles (he says) were believed of old, which shows in what great estimation he was held. And if he of so great estimation tore a cloth painted with an image &c. neither of the passages bear upon the question of relics, much less convey any judgment of the Homilist.

“ This is a very small matter in itself, that in extracting a quotation, a line or two of the succeeding context should have escaped the eye; but in this case these few lines would give a totally different character to the passages taken, and to the thread of the argument of the writer. The inference from these citations was very material; an inference which depends solely on the places, and which I do not believe could be derived from any other extracts from the Homilies, unless equally incomplete.”

But ‘ the thread of the argument of the writer ’ in these passages is surely of no importance. Who *denies* that it is an *à fortiori* argument? The plain question is, would he have expressed himself in the course of it as he did in the two passages quoted by the Tract, had he considered *all* veneration of relics forbidden by the Church of England, ‘ as a fond thing . . . rather repugnant to the word of God?’ Few surely will think so. As to the first quotation, what veneration of relics *can* the Tract be supposed to advocate as lawful, *beyond* that

implied in a belief that relics may work miracles : ' that most ancient history' professes such belief, and, as all must feel, is not spoken of in a tone which would be adopted in speaking of a veneration forbidden by the Church of England. As to the second quotation, not to lay stress on the miracle by which tradition reports the discovery of the true cross to have been made, (which would make the case stronger,) at all events, to feel an interest in such discovery shews a *certain* ' veneration of relics.' Nay what force in saying they did not *worship* the true Cross unless they paid it *some* veneration. Are St. Ambrose then and the ' godly empress' spoken of as if entertaining a feeling condemned by our Articles? rather as the continuation cited by Mr. Wilson makes still more clear, they are spoken of as authorities to be deferred to. Consider too the very tone of the passage, ' the cross which was embrued with our Saviour Christ's own precious blood.'

Mr. Wilson's next quotation from the Homilies is the following, (p. 17.) cited by him to shew ' that the homilist would deem even the ' *having* of images if not Popish, unlawful : ' but of course the enquiry is, what light do the Homilies throw on the phrase in the Articles ' *doctrina Romanensium?*' and therefore the only pertinent question is, what veneration of images they consider ' *Popish?*' But indeed the passage shews plainly, that what the writer considers *doc-*

trinally forbidden is idolatry, and gives as his opinion that to have images in churches is (not in itself wrong, but) most *dangerous* for the *peril* of idolatry.

‘Wherefore the images of God, our Saviour Christ, the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Apostles, Martyrs, and others of notable holiness, are, of all other images, most dangerous for the peril of idolatry, and therefore greatest heed to be taken that none of them be suffered to stand in Churches and Temples.’—*Peril Idol.* 3rd part.

In the last passage Mr. Wilson has quoted, he has pointed out that Mr. Newman’s transcriber or printer has made a mistake; but the introduction of the words omitted only makes the summing up in the Tract more closely accurate. The passage in the Homily, which had been accidentally mutilated in the Tract, when read in full is this: ‘Is not this stooping and kneeling before them, *adoration* of them, which is forbidden so earnestly by God’s word?’ And the summing up in the Tract is as follows; ‘Now the veneration and *worship* condemned in these and other passages are such as these, *kneeling before them, &c.*’ p. 36. ‘Kneeling before them’ is mentioned in the Tract as being part of that *adoration* of them condemned by the Article.

It should be added in fairness, that there remains a passage quoted by Mr. Wilson in p. 14, against which nothing has been said: let it have its weight: it seems certainly to speak of *having*

images as 'contrary to the authority of the Scriptures.' But let me also cite a passage from the Homilies quoted by Mr. Wilson in a different connexion, but drawing the same distinction we have seen before between 'having' them and 'worshipping' them. p. 30.

'And thus you see how, from having of images privately, it came to public setting of them up in churches and temples, although *without harm* at the first, as was then of some wise and learned men judged: and from simply having them there, it came *at the last* to worshipping of them.'

On the whole then, does not the case seem made out by the 'four close pages from the Homilies' quoted by the Tract, that the main tendency of their teaching is a vehement protest against the corruptions they saw around them, not the assertion of any one systematic view in opposition? Nay, let it be asked, who is there among us all in any degree religiously-minded, who having in his possession a piece of sculpture on a religious subject, would treat it as though it were a common ornament? and if not, what does he shew but a *certain* 'veneration of images,' 'though 'of course not the *Romish*?'

The last subject under the twenty-second Article is the Invocation of Saints. And in this too the quotations from the Homilies introduced in the Tract *do* seem to shew, that the writers had not in view the task of assigning the exact limits within

which the realizing of our Communion with departed Saints may be lawful to the spiritually-minded Christian, but, as before, that of bearing witness against the practical corruptions they found actually in existence^a. As to the three first quotations, any reader must surely grant this; and as to the fourth from which Mr. Wilson has introduced an extract, (p. 20.) an attentive perusal of the whole will, I think, lead to the conclusion expressed in the Tract: that the idea in the mind of the writer as to what he was attacking, was what he saw in men's practice on all sides of him: a habit of addressing Saints in such a manner as to make them *at the time the ultimate object of thought*. The passages put in italics in the Tract would seem to my mind to put this beyond fair doubt. Of course it is not necessary to maintain that the Catholic Christian will readily go along with the line of argument adopted in the Homily; the mere question is, what was the religious practice against which he was writing as corrupt and 'Romish?' Mr. Wilson has introduced another quotation from the Homilies which shall here be inserted, (the italics are not Mr. Wilson's :) p. 21.

' For it is evident, that our image-maintainers have the same opinion of saints which the Gentiles had of their false gods, and thereby are moved to make them images, as the Gentiles did. If answer be made, that they make saints but intercessors to God, and means for such things as they would obtain of God; that is, even after the

^a See also p. 30.

Gentiles' idolatrous usage, *to make them of saints, gods,* called *Dii Medioximi*, to be mean intercessors and helpers to God, *as though he did not hear, or should be weary if he did all alone.* So did the Gentiles teach, that there was one chief power *working by other, as means*; and so they made all gods subject to fate or destiny; as Lucian in his Dialogues feigneth, that Neptune made suit to Mercury, that he might speak with Jupiter. And therefore in this also, it is most evident, that our image-maintainers be all one in opinion with the Gentile idolaters.' *Against Peril of Idolatry*, part 3.

Now does the drift of this passage seem fairly applicable to the case of any holy and self-denying man whose thoughts are in Heaven, ever resting upon God his Supreme Good, and who may feel himself drawn to the practice of asking the prayers of departed Saints to that God, as he does the prayers of his living brethren? does the idea of such a person seem to have been for a moment present to the mind of the writer? On the other hand, to one kind of error (which certainly exists, perhaps to a very great extent, as *matter of opinion* in the Roman Church at the present day, and most probably at that day also,) it is remarkably applicable: viz. such as the opinion that the Blessed Virgin is appointed by our Lord the *sole necessary channel through* which His grace shall flow to His Church, so that in fact addresses to her are more *immediate* applications for a supply of grace than to our Lord Himself^d: and opinions which are far from going to

^d The following passages, taken from Archbishop Ussher's answers to a Jesuit, have been shewn me since the above was

this shocking extent, but which tend in the same direction, may well be aimed at in this passage ; as

written ; and they will serve both to make my meaning clearer, and also to shew the existence at that period (S. Bernardinus lived in the 15th century) of writings which would be altogether adequate objects for the strictures in this passage of the Homily. The quotations are given on the authority of the Cambridge edition of Ussher, 1835.

A tempore enim quo Virgo mater concipit in utero Verbum Dei, quandam, ut sic dicam, jurisdictionem seu auctoritatem in omni Spiritus sancti processione temporali, ita quod nulla creatura aliquam a Deo obtinuit gratiam vel virtutem, nisi secundum ipsius piæ matris dispensationem. Bernardin. Senens. Serm. lxi. Artic. i. cap. 8.

Et quia talis est mater Filii Dei qui producit Spiritum sanctum, ideo omnia dona virtutis et gratiæ ipsius Spiritus sancti, quibus vult, quando vult, quomodo vult, et quantum vult, per manus ipsius administrantur. Id. *ibid.*

Nulla gratia de cælo nisi ea dispensante ad nos descendit. Hoc enim singulariter officium divinitus ab æterno adepta est, sicut Proverb. viii. ipsa testatur, dicens, Ab æterno ordinata sum ; scilicet dispensatrix cælestium gratiarum. Id. *ibid.* Artic. iii. cap. 3.

In Christo fuit plenitudo gratiæ sicut, in capite influente, in Maria vero, sicut in collo transfundente. Unde Cantic. vii. de Virgine ad Christum Salomon ait, Collum tuum sicut turris eburnea. Nam sicut per collum vitales spiritus a capite descendunt in corpus, sic per Virginem a capite Christo vitales gratiæ in ejus corpus mysticum transfunduntur. Id. *ibid.* Artic. i. cap. 8. Artic. ii. et cap. 10. ex Pseudo-Hieronymi Sermone de Assumpt. Mariæ. Sicut enim a capite, mediante collo, descendunt omnia nutrimenta corporis, sic a Christo per beatam Virginem in nos veniunt omnia bona et beneficia quæ Deus nobis confert. Nam ipsa est dispensatrix gratiarum et beneficiorum Dei. Joan. Herolt. in Sermon. Discipuli de

certainly no one will doubt that to whatever extent they did exist, to whatever extent Saints were allowed to obscure in the mind the vision of the one God, such opinions would be part of the 'doctrina Romanensium' condemned by the Article.

On the subject of the thirty-first Article, I hardly know what to say. If Mr. Wilson considers that the doctrine is condemned in it of the Eucharist

Tempore, Serm. clxiii. Per collum Virginis apud Deum gratia et intercessio intelligitur, ita ut ejus intercessio sit veluti collum, per quod a Deo omnes gratiæ præsidiaque in homines transfunduntur. Blas. Viegas in Apocalyps. cap. xii. Comment. ii. sect. 10. num. 1. Collum enim dicitur, quia per Virginem universa in nos a Deo, tanquam a capite, beneficia derivantur. Id. ibid. num. 2.

Quasi sublato Virginis patrocinio, perinde atque halitu intercluso, peccator vivere diutius non possit. Viegas, ibid. sect. ii. num. 6.

Tot creaturæ serviunt gloriosæ Virgini Mariæ, quot serviunt Trinitati. Omnes nempe creaturæ, quemcunque gradum teneant in creatis, sive spirituales ut angeli, sive rationales ut homines, sive corporales ut corpora cœlestia vel elementa, et omnia quæ sunt in cœlo et in terra, sive damnati sive beati, quæ omnia sunt divino imperio subjugata, gloriosæ Virgini sunt subjecta. Ille enim qui Dei Filius est et Virginis benedictæ, volens, ut sic dicam, paterno principatui quodammodo principatum æquiparare maternum, ipse quæ Deus erat matri famulabatur in terra. Unde Lucæ ii. scriptum est de Virgine et glorioso Joseph, Erat subditus illis. Præterea hæc est vera, Divino imperio omnia famulantur et Virgo; et iterum hæc est vera, Imperio Virginis omnia famulantur et Deus. Id. ibid. cap. 6.

being an offering for the quick and dead, he must condemn some of our most respected Divines almost from that day to this. But the whole scope of the Article, as is plain from both its title and wording, is to vindicate the soleness and all-sufficiency of the One Sacrifice.

Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.

“The Offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction, for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone. *Wherefore* the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.”

The ‘sacrifices of masses’ are only introduced as bearing upon this point: they saw that practically ‘masses as observed in the Church of Rome’ actually impaired or obscured the doctrine of the ‘one Atonement;’ (Letter to Dr. Jelf, p. 27.) and condemned them *as* so doing^b: they considered most justly any thing which did so as a ‘blasphemous fable,’ and we find from the Homilies as well as other sources that the particular observances which had this effect, were also so full of other shameful abuses, as to deserve the name of ‘perniciosa imposturae’ as well. With regard to Mr. Wilson’s quotation from Bishop Jewel, it is only necessary to remark that no one has maintained

^b See page 30.

that belief in the Eucharistic Sacrifice is *required* of those who subscribe our formularies ; and that Bishop Jewel's writings have never been recognized by our Church as of authority.

I trust I have now succeeded in vindicating the Tract's interpretation of the twenty-second and thirty-first Articles from the difficulties which have prevented Mr. Wilson from receiving it. As my object in writing is to support the Tract, not to engage in controversy with him, no further remarks on his Letter seem necessary : but I am naturally led on to consider what seems certainly to me a more difficult question than those which Mr. Wilson has raised, and which has been alluded to in a very unassuming and pleasing spirit, by ' one who owes much to the Tracts for the Times : ' I mean the Article on General Councils. I fear that what may be said on it may possibly displease some whom it is most painful to displease ; I mean that most highly respected class of our living divines, who consider the spirit in which the English Reformation was carried on by its human agents not to have been on the whole uncatholic. Such persons do not feel the difficulty which some others may feel : they would join issue with those who claim the Articles as ruling matters on the Protestant side, by denying that any powerful party at the time could have wished so to rule them : to them it will have never occurred to doubt, I quote the words used in a private letter by one deeply venerated

person, ' that *General Councils* were never meant to include *Œcumenical*.' Some will probably carry this principle still further, and consider our Articles to *exclude* the adherents of Protestantism, (or as they would rather call it ultra Protestantism,) such as we find them at the present day.

But still as several persons remain who, with all their anxiety to follow such revered authorities, cannot bring themselves to acquiesce in this view of the case, and as their feelings have met with sanction not less high than that of the editors of Mr. Froude's *Remains*, (see preface to the 2d part of that work,) it seems no wanton outrage on feelings which must ever command our highest respect, but direct necessity which compels them in self-defence to express their view of our formularies, and of the ground on which such as they consider they may honestly subscribe them. They cannot deny, that to them there appears an obvious leaning to Protestantism in the wording of some few of the Articles ; the point on which they join issue being, whether this leaning has actually been allowed to have its full effect. Two alternatives are open to them : either we may consider, that those who drew up the Articles had before their minds all through their task the thought of an opposite party in the Church whom they must not offend, and whose views if they *actually contradicted* in the Articles, the sanction of Convocation (the sole Church authority of the time) was not to be expected, (*Tract*, p. 82.

second edition): or it remains that God's merciful providence watched over this branch of His Church, (favoured as she has ever been far beyond our deserts, and all the dearer to us her faithful children from her present captivity, and from the imminent dangers which have threatened her,) so watched over her, I say, amidst all the excesses of that period, as *without the intervention of human agency* to protect her from herself, and graciously save her from any *formal* admission of the unhappy errors then prevalent. But I think that without falling back on the latter of these suppositions, there is abundant internal evidence in our formularies themselves (without going to the historical question which *well deserves an attentive investigation*) to convince us of the former. If persons will not reject this notion at once as forced and sophistical, but allow themselves to carry it with them as they look at the Articles, I am persuaded they will see more and more probability of its truth; they will see in the Articles in dispute (which at last are but few) a remarkable attempt on the part of the framers to present an imposing external appearance of Protestantism, while nothing is really decided which might prevent those who deferred more really than they did to primitive authority from subscribing. This of course is the meaning of the last paragraph in the Tract, and it well deserves our careful attention.

For instance (see Tract, p. 44.) the passage in the 28th Article, 'The Sacrament of the Lord's Sup-

‘ per was not *by Christ’s ordinance* reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped;’ in the 25th, ‘ the Sacraments *were not ordained by Christ* to be gazed upon or to be carried about;’ and in the 32d, ‘ Bishops, Priests, and Deacons *are not commanded by God’s law*, either to vow the estate of single life or to abstain from marriage;’ would bear an appearance to Foreign Protestants of a spirited protest against what they considered corruptions, (part of them of course really were so); but when those at home who were more nearly concerned, as having to sign them, came to look more closely, they would find nothing asserted beyond the very plain truth, that such ordinances were not *ordained by Christ*, and so might *lawfully* (even the question of expediency being waived) be discontinued by the Church. And so again the 14th Article, while it bears on its surface the mark of a loud protest against Rome, *as actually worded* is barely more than a truism: the question of course being, not whether we can do more for His sake than *of bounden duty is required*, which no orthodox believer ever dreamt of holding, (God forbid !) but whether it is possible for His sake to do more, to make higher advances in holiness, than the *least* which in His great mercy for the merit of Christ’s death, He will accept as sufficient to salvation. And to deny this, seems necessarily either to deny that holiness *as such* is required for salvation, (I mean independently of that degree of holiness which will in the judgment of some neces-

sarily result from the news of forgiveness, apprehended by faith,) or to assert that the least falling short of holiness, attainable by us through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, will entail on us eternal ruin. Now on all these Articles if persons of different sentiments protested, they might be triumphantly challenged to point out the statement to which they objected: they could find none, *any more than we can at the present day*. Indeed it is worth the consideration of any person studying the Homilies, especially as illustrating part of the Articles, whether there is not in a large number of passages a remarkable union of *truth* in point of *doctrine*, and *error* in point of *fact*, (of course on such points they have no claim upon us): *truth* of *doctrine* in declaring certain opinions condemnable, *error* in *fact* in considering them held by the more religious Roman Catholics^e. Great part of what appears to have struck some persons as disingenuousness in

^e Even as to the Articles there is nothing to interfere with the supposition (not an impossible one) that both in the 14th and 31st the framers were mistaken as to the matter of fact, what was the doctrine held by serious Roman Catholics. Such a mistake would seem a natural result, from their apparent tendency to view religious opinions *from without*, rather looking at them in their effects on the mass of men, than applying themselves to the enquiry, what might be their meaning, and what place they might legitimately hold in the mind of the more religious. Of course mistakes of this sort no more prevent subscription, than their ascribing the Athanasian Creed to St. Athanasius, or a passage to St. Augustine in the 29th Article, which Porson pronounces spurious.

portions of the Tract, is I am persuaded referable to this cause.

Accordingly, to come nearer our present more immediate purpose, notwithstanding the strong protests made in favour of Holy Scripture in the sixth and twentieth Articles, as well as the one before us, a very remarkable silence is maintained on the question, *who is to be judge* of the scripturalness of a doctrine alleged as necessary: a silence which there seems absolutely no way of accounting for, except some such desire of comprehension as I have spoken of. Another thing very much to be observed, and perfectly inexplicable on the hypothesis of Protestant principles having had their full freedom in the reconstruction of our formularies, is, that the necessity of proof from Scripture is every where confined to truths *necessary to salvation*: this is so not only in the sixth, twentieth, and twenty-first Articles, but also in the Ordination Service; so that it cannot possibly be the result of accident.

The Bishop. ‘Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrines *required of necessity for eternal salvation* . . . and are you determined out of the said Scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing as required *of necessity to eternal salvation*, but that which you shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Scripture?’ It is needless to point out how very unlike such a form as this is to what would be the free and unrestrained expression of

persons, who held either that the individual or that the local Church had *no* authority to guide them on doctrinal points, except the letter of Scripture. The qualification as to truths ‘ necessary to salvation ’ would have actually no meaning in the mouths of such persons. On the other hand, the result has been that the later English Church, as distinguished from other Churches, has borne a most remarkable witness to the truth which appears to have been altogether Catholic, that *all* points of necessary faith are contained (whether on the surface or latently) in Scripture, and that it is the duty of the Church to draw them from thence for the edification of her children : not merely to say to them, ‘ believe this ‘ for the Church believes it,’ but ‘ believe this, for the ‘ Church has ever seen it in these certain passages of ‘ Scripture ; dwell on them carefully and reverently ‘ yourselves, that you may go on more and more to ‘ see it there too.’

For the proof of the Catholicity of this doctrine the reader is referred to the thirteenth of Mr. Newman’s Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church : and it is one which it seems to have been the peculiar office of the English Church to preserve in these later ages. To say so, it may be hoped, involves no uncharitableness to other Churches ; it is consistent with a full and grateful acknowledgment, that on other Catholic truths they have borne a more *explicit* testimony than we have, nor is it meant to imply that they

have formally denied this, (of course we are speaking of the formal statements of each Church, not of the practical corruptions in either): but has there not been a tendency in the later Roman Church, arising naturally from the absence of a *full* and *prominent* statement on her part of this truth, to teach saving truth more exclusively on her own authority than the example of the early Church would warrant, and so to be remiss in the duty of encouraging in the laity the reverent study of the Sacred Volume? and may we not by the way allude to this as one out of the numberless marks we have on us of being a living branch of Christ's Church, that the Roman Church and ours *together*[†] make up so far more an adequate representation of the early Church, (our several defects and practical corruptions as it were protesting against each other,) than either separately[‡]?

Having then so far cleared our way, let us enter upon the consideration of the twenty-first Article; and see whether any thing more Pro-

[†] The Greek Church is not mentioned, because its practice on such matters is understood to be much the same with the Roman.

[‡] It is much to be wished that Roman Catholic writers would remember that it is not incumbent on any member of our Church to maintain our superiority to them either in formal statement or in practice. We do not deny *their* Communion to be part of the Universal Church, though they deny *ours* to be so.

testant has really been introduced into it than this characteristic, and most honourable feature of the English Church? I suppose most people on reading it first are struck with this impression, that it is contrasting the authority of General Councils with that of Scripture; and saying that the former being composed of fallible men, are themselves fallible; and therefore claim at our hands, or else at the hands of the local Church, no deference beyond the point to which we can see that Scripture bears out their decrees; nor is it necessary to deny either that this would be the private opinion of the framers, or that they wished it should at first sight convey this impression.

‘General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes. And when they be gathered together, (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God,) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared (nisi ostendi possint) that they be taken out of holy Scripture.’

Perhaps most readers will agree, that this certainly at first sight seems to run very smoothly according to the purport I have mentioned; but I have omitted a few words, which when introduced spoil the natural course of the argument altogether; nay it is not too much to say make it impossible

to construct the argument out of the Article as it really stands.

‘ Things ordained by them *as necessary to salvation* have neither strength nor authority, &c.’

Now as these words are just the introduction of what has been mentioned as the characteristic excellence of the later English Church, so on the other hand have they not every appearance of being introduced in consideration of the wishes of men more Catholicly minded than the framers? That they found their way there accidentally, no one will for an instant think, who observes the very same clause in the sixth and twentieth Articles, and also in the Ordination Service. Yet on what Protestant principle, on what principle *denying authority on religious doctrines to all General Councils*, have they any meaning whatever? No one will maintain that *all* religious truths are *necessary to salvation*; why then on those *not* necessary have General Councils authority independently of Scripture, according to the words of the Article, and not on others? No! I feel persuaded that fair minded men will see in this Article the result of a compromise with the opposite party, and an intentional abstinence from determining the question whether *some* General Councils *have given them authority by Christ to determine religious doctrine with infallible truth*; ruling at the same time so much as this, that any General Council which

determined that to be a point of *necessary faith* which should not be contained and *able to be pointed out* (ostendi possint) in Holy Scripture, would err in so doing, and therefore would not be so far such infallible Council. And if it be asked, what remains in that case as the force of the Article at all? an obvious answer is found in the very general opinion, that the Roman Church had considered those to be Œcumenical Councils which were not so; and with regard to which one mark of their not being so was, that they seemed to rule as points necessary to salvation, what they did not even profess to see in Scripture; while on the other hand practically doctrines which the Reformers desired to oppose were grounded (with or without reason) on the decrees of such General Councils: against which they declare ‘General Councils may err and have erred, &c.’ For the importance of this test of the Catholicity of a General Council, see Newman’s *Prophetic office of the Church*, Lect. viii. where he brings out the fact, that the first General Council ‘which professed to ground its decrees not on ‘Scripture sanction but mainly on tradition,’ was ‘the first which framed as an *Article of faith* what ‘was beside and beyond the Apostles’ Creed,’ was ‘the Council which decreed the worship of images,’ and was the first which took place *certainly* after the schism had taken place between the East and West.

It will perhaps be hardly cogent in arguing

on this subject to bring forward the names of our divines who have held the infallibility of *some* General Councils, as they will only be included in the charge of inconsistency with their subscription: but it will be very cogent to introduce the canon of the Convocation of 1571, the very same Convocation which sanctioned our Articles, as shewing that that assembly was little likely to have assented to formularies which taught the Protestant rule of Private Judgment. ‘Preachers shall be careful that they never teach ought in a sermon to be religiously held and believed by the people except that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, *and which the Catholic Fathers and Ancient Bishops have collected from that very doctrine.*’ It may be added, that in the second edition of the Tract the writer has made more clear his method of reconciling the wording of the Article with those opinions which I have just been arguing were intended to be admitted by it, by introducing into the passage which follows the words in brackets, ‘General Councils then may err [*as such—may err*] unless in any case it is promised,’ &c.

Before leaving the subject of this Article, it may be as well to add, that the first clause so congenial in its wording with the prevalent Erastianism of that day, is nevertheless strictly in accordance with primitive usage, as the Tract

observes; and with regard to a difficulty felt by the anonymous writer of the few pages to which I have before alluded, it will be seen by an attentive reader, that when the Tract speaks of those General Councils which are gathered together *in the name of Christ*, it plainly does not mean those Councils which *profess* to be so gathered together, but which are *really* so; for as it implies afterwards, it is an important question and not an easy one 'to determine—*what those conditions are which fulfil the notion of a gathering in the name of Christ.*' p. 22.

The same writer has found a difficulty in the Tract's explanation of the twenty-eighth Article, and considers that the Article 'denies that the elements are altered at all.' Controversy is not necessary on the word 'altered,' if he will bear in mind that the following paragraph was *added* in the XXXIX Articles, not having been in the forty-two, and must therefore be taken as explanatory of the former. 'The Body of Christ is *given, taken, and eaten, &c.*' the inference from which is obvious. Again, this paragraph about transubstantiation, as urged I think quite successfully in the Tract, is plainly of the same nature with the twenty-second Article, and directed in a general way against the existing superstitions of the time.

On the thirtieth Article (to which however I am not aware of objection having been as yet expressed) the Tract has not altogether satisfied me:

‘The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the Lay-people: for both the parts of the Lord’s Sacrament, by Christ’s ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.’

This certainly seems to contain a protest against the habit in the Roman Church of denying the cup to the laity, in the indiscriminate and unnecessary manner she has adopted for so many years; so that if a person considered that point of discipline in her communion a legitimate or justifiable use of that power which the Church of course has, I should have doubts of his being able to sign the Article^h. It is very comforting to know, that it *is* a mere point of discipline which she might revoke at any moment: nor on the other hand does the Article seem to determine the question whether there may not be individual cases in which administration in one kind would be a pious procedure. Persons of infirm health (to whom the wine might be seriously prejudicial) afford one example; the ancient solitaries, to whom the Consecrated Bread was carried out, afford another; a case where the danger of profanation from the Wine becoming corrupted, had the Cup also been brought them, is obviousⁱ. And indeed

^h At the same time it is certainly possible to take the first clause of the Article in a sense parallel to Art. XXXII, ‘non est denegandus, *as things are in our Church*, since (without judging others) we prefer having it according to Christ’s ordinance and commandment.’

ⁱ ‘As to the other part of the question,—whether the

this latter, recognized as it was in the Church in the ages which the Convocation of 1571 must certainly have contemplated when it speaks of the Ancient Fathers and Bishops, cannot be considered as condemned in the Articles which that Convocation sanctioned.

Before concluding, it may be as well to add a few words in explanation of such expressions as the following in the Tract ; ‘ in such a sense Scripture is not *on Anglican principles* a rule of faith,’ p. 11. the *Article* is ‘ as it were pointing to the ‘ Catholic Church diffused throughout the world, ‘ which being but one cannot be mistaken,’ &c. p. 18. ‘ Another of these conditions,’ (viz. of a General Council being Catholic) *the Article goes on to mention*, p. 22. ‘ Therefore,’ *as the Article* ‘ logically proceeds,’ p. 64 ; and so a still stronger expression in Tract 82, (the same Tract from which a large quotation is made in Tract 90, p. 66.) ‘ I ‘ look forward to success not by compelling others ‘ to take my view of the Articles, but by convincing them that *mine is the right one.*’ vol. iv. p. xxxi. ‘ ancients did not in some private or extraordinary cases ‘ administer the Sacrament in one kind, we have no dispute ‘ with Bona.’ ‘ Bona himself tells us that there are *some* ‘ instances of the Communion being carried in both kinds to ‘ hermits and recluses.’ ‘ As to the other instances of the sick, ‘ or infants, or men in a journey, who communicate only in one ‘ kind, (if they were never so true, as we see *many* of them are ‘ false,) they are private and extraordinary cases,’ &c. Bingham, book xv. chap. 5.

Many persons seem to consider that such statements imply that persons, who subscribe the Articles in a different sense, do what in point of fact (of course dishonesty is not supposed to be imputed to them) they are not warranted in doing. And such further ways of speech as '*the Church of England teaches*' certain doctrines, or '*we hold against the Roman*' 'controversialist such a point,' are often considered to imply, that our formularies *as we have them* really are sufficient, if people would take them fairly, to witness this alleged truth. But these expressions need not be taken to imply so much; and *if* they need not be, it is important to state this, not only from the great desirableness that persons of opposite opinions should not consider their conduct to be spoken against when it is not, (the one great hope of our Church's well doing at the present time and escape from her 'unhappy divisions,' is a loving and temperate consideration of the points at issue with as little as may be of reproach and imputation on either side,) but also from the light it throws on such parts of Mr. Newman's Letter to Dr. Jelf, as the following: 'I should rejoice if the members of our Church *were all of one mind*, but they are not; and till they are, one *can but submit* to what is at present the will or rather the chastisement of Providence.' p. 29.

Such statements then as the preceding do not necessarily (I believe do not in the mind of the writer really) mean more than this: that if our

Church be looked upon *as a branch of the Church Catholic*, (in our sense of the words,) she must be considered to mean certain doctrines when she uses certain statements. It is not implied that our formularies *rule* it that we are a branch of the Church Catholic in this sense: many persons it is well known consider the English Church to be a Protestant Establishment, dating from the time of Edward VI.: and of these, some lay great stress on our being governed by Bishops; others consider the form of 'Church Government' to be a matter of very small importance: there is no necessity for denying that either class may subscribe our formularies, that is a point for their serious consideration, on which we are not called on to form an opinion^k. If they do so, they will receive them in a very different sense from that to which they give utterance in *our* ears. To *us* they come as the words of some old and revered friend, whom we have known long and well, and who has long

† It is much to be wished that persons, who, from the apologetic air which to them the Tract may appear to wear, are led to consider it a sophistical attempt at explaining away our formal statements of doctrine, would consider the appearance which would be presented in their own case *if they placed on paper one after another the passages in our formularies* (whether Prayer Book or Articles,) which *give them difficulties*, without explicit allusion to the many parts which seem to them to be of an opposite tendency, and then put down in words the explanation of them in which they acquiesce, and by help of which they subscribe.

taught us high and holy lessons ; and if after such long experience we hear from him words which at first sound strangely, we interpret them *if possible* in accordance with his well-known spirit. If they absolutely refuse to be so explained, we recognise with sorrow that we have mistaken his character ; but in proportion to our experience of the preciousness of his former counsels, in proportion to our perception of the plain traces he still bears upon him of his former self, are we unwilling to believe that any of his expressions may not be so interpreted. This of course is Mr. Newman's meaning when he speaks of giving the Articles ' the most Catholic sense they will admit.' Tract, p. 80. In a word then, we raise no question about others who interpret our formularies by the spirit of Cranmer and Jewel, why are they found fault with who interpret them by St. Gregory and St. Augustin¹? or why are we to be suspected of lukewarmness in affection for our own Church, because, together with far higher feelings of the awfulness of privilege entrusted to it than others have, we

¹ If ever there were a point not determined by our Church, it is that she takes her date from the Reformation. The very name Protestant *is not once used in our whole Services or Articles.* The Prayer Book, no insignificant part of our formularies, dates for the most part from a far earlier period. The temporal rights of our Bishops, of our Chapters, the external framework of our Church, the divisions of our Dioceses, &c. &c. all call us back to St. Augustin rather than to Cranmer.

also add a far longer train of sympathies with her, and give her a far more extensive catalogue of saints?

One reason in addition may be mentioned, why to remain in our own Church, and by God's help endeavour to elevate its tone, cannot be looked on by the Catholic Christian as the cold performance of a duty, (though a plain duty of course it is,) but a labour of love. Many persons, who have been by God's grace led into what they deem the Truth, are most deeply sensible, that in the number of those who think otherwise, are still very many persons, so much their superiors in religious attainment, that the idea of even a comparison is most painful. Yet religious truth is the especial inheritance of such persons, who nevertheless, whether by the prepossessions of education, or the inadequate way in which that Truth has been brought before them, have hitherto failed to recognise God's mark upon it. Can there be a task more full of interest and hope, than in all possible ways, especially by the careful ordering of our own lives and conversations, to do what in us lies to set before such persons in a manner which may overcome their adverse impressions, that one image of the Catholic Church, which, could they but see it, is the real satisfaction for their restless cravings, and the fit reward for their patient continuance in well doing? yet such a task is exclusively ours as members of the *English* Church, and may well

add one to the many associations and bonds of love which binds us to that Holy Mother, through whom we received our new-birth. May we all have grace to labour worthily in the pious task of building her up in truth and purity, with loving tenderness indeed towards all branches of the Catholic Church, but with an especial and dutiful attachment to *her*.

W. G. W.

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APPENDIX.

AN additional quotation of Mr. Wilson's on purgatory from the Homilies, p. 24. escaped my notice in writing what goes before. In the Homily it *immediately follows* the quotation in the Tract: a few further extracts from the same passage, while they seem to require some little modification of the argument I had grounded on the previous passage, still on the whole will tend perhaps to shew more clearly the points I have insisted on: first, that the homilist was not writing with a determined and accurate view of his own any way; and secondly, that the general *drift* of the passage is to deny a 'place of repentance' for those who die in sin; though incidentally he takes up several positions the soundness of which we may well doubt. And let it never be forgotten, that the more inconsistency of general view we find in the Homilies, the stronger becomes the argument urged in the foregoing pages: viz. that the Reformers did not occupy themselves with the investigation of *principles* on these subjects, but with vigorous attacks on the existing corrupt creed of the mass of men^a.

'Let these and such other places be sufficient to take away the gross error of purgatory out of our heads; neither let us dream any more that the souls of the dead are any thing at all holpen by our prayers: but, as the Scripture teacheth us, let us think that the soul of man, passing out of the body, *goeth straightways either to Heaven, or else to Hell*, whereof the one needeth no prayer, and the other is without redemption. The

^a See p. 30.

only purgatory wherein we must trust *to be saved* is the death and blood of Christ, &c. This then is that purgatory wherein all Christian men put their whole trust and confidence, nothing doubting, but if they truly repent them of their sins, and die in *perfect* faith, that then they shall forthwith pass from death to life. If this kind of purgatory will not serve them, let them never hope to be released by men's prayers. He that *cannot be saved by faith in Christ's Blood*, how shall he look to be delivered by man's intercessions? But *we must take heed that we call upon this Advocate while we have space given us in this life, lest when we are once dead, there be no hope of salvation left unto us.* For as every man *sleepeth* with his own cause, so every man shall *rise again* with his own cause' [compare 'goeth *straightways* either to Heaven or to Hell' just before,] 'and look in what state he dieth, in the same state he shall be also judged, whether it be *to salvation* or *damnation*. Let us not *therefore* dream either of purgatory, or of prayer for the souls of them that be dead,' &c.

In this short passage then the writer is in a formal contradiction with himself, on a subject not less closely connected with purgatory, than the question whether there is *any* intermediate state: he first states, and afterwards denies, that the soul goes *at once* to Heaven or Hell. The former statement being in positive contradiction to the doctrine of a *Day of Judgment*. He waives the question as to those who die in *imperfect* faith; he seems to speak of a purgatory, the believers in which *so far* renounce their trust in Christ's Atonement, &c. &c. At the same time the other words in Italics, especially the final 'therefore,' seem to shew what is all the time the current of his thoughts.

THE END.

A

FEW MORE WORDS

IN SUPPORT OF No. 90

OF THE

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM GEORGE WARD, M.A.

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OXFORD,

JOHN HENRY PARKER ;

J. G. F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.

1841.

A

FEW MORE WORDS,

&c.

ON most theological subjects, such as those which the "Tracts for the Times" have treated, direct controversy with opponents seems especially undesirable. All religious truths are addressed to the conscience rather than the reason; and the points at issue, to speak generally, are much rather those opinions which the consciences of persons on either side propound to them as principles to start from, than the results which by reasoning are derived from those principles. The object of their advocates is to state them in such a manner, as that they may best commend themselves to those who by a strict life and the diligent following after whatever light may seem to them to be from Heaven, are proceeding along the path which in God's ordinary dealings is the one appointed access to religious truth. To draw out this principle, and guard against misconceptions, which on either side have clouded or perverted it, is far from my present purpose; that purpose being rather to contrast with such subjects the especial subject which forms the matter of Tract 90.

Here, as in our controversy with Roman Catholics, the question is not one of principle but of detail; it is not what doctrines are from God, but what are *ruled* by a certain document. Direct and explicit reasoning then has a far more natural place, and may be admitted with far less suspicion, than on most religious controversies: and this may perhaps be received as an excuse in behalf of one who, having already written on this particular controversy, is now about to return to it with the hope of making some points more clear than he was able to do in his former publication.

An article in the Edinburgh Review for April, and a pamphlet called "the Articles construed by themselves," will afford what may be called the text for the following remarks; which will however extend to some points beyond the range of either of those writings. Indeed, when both parties are really in earnest, and anxious for the truth, and when the subject is one on which, as has been said, more than on most others, direct argument will lead to that truth, it is to be expected that every week will throw light upon the real points at issue; remarks thrown out in conversation, or in private letters, as well as in print, will be continually tending to make more obvious to the mind the real difficulties which oppose the reception of what we fully believe to be true, and so will not unnaturally augment our hope of being able to remove them. New difficulties too will be brought

forward: the range of subjects embraced in the Tract is very extensive; some are painfully struck with one part, some with another; and it is only very gradually that these different impressions find their way to the knowledge of those who support it.

Another reason which may at least be my excuse, if, from over-anxiety, I am mistaken as to the desirableness of coming forward again, is the deep grief which all must feel who reverence the Oxford writers, at the impression apparently produced on some very religious minds by their last movement. It is a most bitter thought, that the principal advocates of what we are well convinced is God's holy truth, should be really imagined by serious men to advocate a Jesuitical (in the popular sense of that word) and disingenuous principle, by which any thing may mean any thing, and forms may be subscribed at the most solemn period of our life, only to be dishonestly explained away. And it is still more miserable, that men of low worldly habits, on whom it is most important to *inflict* examples of a course of life steadily pursued on religious motives, should be even confirmed in their unprincipled disbelief of real consistent holiness, by fancying themselves to see in men of high pretensions to sanctity, marks of the same worldly and low spirit, though in a different form, which they indeed own in their own case, but which they know to be condemned by the parties in question as inconsistent, when indulged, with final accept-

ance. To this may be added, what has been said on a former occasion, the novelty to so many individuals of these interpretations; and the consequent certainty that, till full explanation has been given, what is new will seem disingenuous. It does appear, then, that full and free discussion on this particular subject is called for, and if conducted on both sides in a right spirit, must tend eventually to elicit the truth.

I.

First, then, let us consider what is the point *now* at issue. The pamphlet I have alluded to speaks of Mr. Newman's 'alternate rejection and adoption of the opinions of the framers of the Articles.' I cannot see such inconsistency. The Tract says, p. 82. 'The interpretation they (Anglo-Catholics) take *was intended to be admissible*, though not that which the authors took themselves,' and from first to last consistently advocates that position. And I apprehend *that* to be the point now at issue. Was it intended by the very compilers of the Articles not to *rule* any thing contradictory to the views of "Anglo-Catholics?" and few, I apprehend, will doubt that, if this be acknowledged true, the controversy is at an end. If it was not intended by those who framed the Articles that certain opinions should be excluded, and if, as all allow, no subsequent changes have been made in the Articles, there is no *primâ facie* case to force us on

the consideration of difficult and doubtful questions ; what the Articles were not *meant* to exclude they do *not* exclude. But, for the sake of those who may not go with him to this extent, Mr. Newman has certainly in the Tract mentioned other considerations which may yet lead to his conclusion : and, in order to understand these, we are compelled to enter upon the question, far from an easy one, who is the ‘ imponent’ of the Articles? as the ‘ animus imponentis’ must be our rule in subscribing them. The question itself too is one of no slight interest, and the true solution of it seems likely to have in many ways important bearings. This subject then I shall now proceed to treat, and afterwards return to the original question, on which itself for my own part I believe Mr. Newman’s ground to be altogether impregnable.

1. The first view which it occurs to mention as to the ‘ imponent’ of the Articles is that which regards their framers in this light. This seems to have been frequently esteemed almost as a ruled point, and quotations from Cranmer and Ridley have frequently been made, as though their opinions were the authorized commentary on the text^a. But a moment’s consideration is sufficient to refute this opinion : as well might a committee of the House of Commons who are employed to draw up

^a ‘ The well-known sentiments of the Church of England, that is, of the Reformers of Edward the Sixth’s reign.’ Arnold’s Sermons, vol. iii. p. 423.

a bill be imagined to be the 'imponens' instead of the whole legislative body.

2. Shall we look then upon the Convocation of 1571 in this light? How can we do so? what claim can that have, which the last Convocation (of 1662) has not much more?

3. But has *that* real claim? By what right can a Convocation, which ceased to exist more than 150 years ago, be considered as the present 'imponens' of our formularies?

4. Dismissing then these notions as plainly untenable, we come to that which appears the true one, for those who look upon our Church as Protestant and founded at the Reformation; viz. that the *State* is the 'imponens.' To such persons it would seem that the Articles must naturally present themselves as *the terms* on which the State transfers to the English Church the property it has taken from the 'Romish,' and *the security* it exacts from the teachers whom it pays, that they shall teach doctrines it approves. There being of course a further question behind, into which we need not enter, viz. whether the 'animus imponentis' upon this view will be the wishes of the existing legislature, so far as we can arrive at them, or is to be determined, like Acts of Parliament, by the authoritative interpretation of the judicial tribunals. A view somewhat similar to this appears at one time to have also approved itself to persons of very different sentiments. 'The view which the Author would

‘ take of his own position was probably this, that he
 ‘ was a minister of the one Holy Church
 ‘ Catholic, which, among other places, is allowed by
 ‘ her Divine Master to manifest herself locally in
 ‘ England, and has in former times been endowed
 ‘ by the piety of her members : that the State has
 ‘ but secured by law those endowments which it
 ‘ could not seize without sacrilege, and in return for
 ‘ this supposed form *has encumbered* the rightful
 ‘ possession of them *by various conditions* calculated
 ‘ to bring the Church into bondage : that her
 ‘ ministers in consequence are in no way bound to
 ‘ throw themselves into the spirit of such enact-
 ‘ ments, rather to observe only such a literal
 ‘ acquiescence as is *all that the law requires in*
 ‘ *any case, all that an external oppressor has a right*
 ‘ *to ask.* Their loyalty is already engaged to the
 ‘ Church Catholic, and they cannot *enter into the*
 ‘ *drift and intentions of her oppressors* without
 ‘ betraying her.’ Pref. to Froude’s Rem. part 1.
 p. xv.

5. Another very natural opinion looks to the *existing Church*, whether represented by her Bishops or otherwise, as the tribunal to be referred to ; and there are two branches of this opinion. Some persons seem to consider that the actual wording of the *formularies* themselves has no claim upon them whatever, and is only to be looked upon as the exponent of the feeling of the existing Church. One of the most intrepid supporters of this opinion

is Dr. Hey, the third book of whose Divinity Lectures, from the fourth to the eighth chapter, will well repay the careful perusal of any one interested in this question. He so fully considers the feeling of the present Church *every thing*, and the wording of her formularies *nothing*, as not only to justify a body of Clergy for making a distinct promise to teach doctrines the very opposite to those they intend to teach^b, but to accuse a Clergyman of *falsehood* who should sign an Article in its natural sense, when the body of the Church held opinions contradictory to it^c. This view is certainly not without some plausibility ; yet it seems impossible

^b “ The Genevese have now in fact quitted their Calvinistic doctrines, though in form they retain them : *one reason for retaining the form is lest they should be thought heretics by the Dutch Churches. . . .* When the minister is admitted, he takes an oath of assent to the Scriptures, and professes to teach them ‘ according to the Catechism of Calvin ;’ but this last clause about Calvin he makes a separate business ; speaking lower or altering his posture or speaking after a considerable interval.” Chap. vi. “ This shews how a minister of the Church of Geneva is *now* clear of the crime of prevarication, though there is so strong an appearance of it in the manner of assenting.” Chap. vii.

^c “ Supposing the third Article of 1552 had been tacitly instead of expressly repealed,” (he means “ had it been retained” as the context shews,) “ and a Minister *had been of opinion that* 1 Pet. iii. 19. *was there rightly applied*, yet if he declared his assent to the Article *in that sense* to a Church *in which it was unanimously agreed that it was wrongly applied*, I should say he was guilty of falsehood.” Chap. viii.

that it should ever become extensively prevalent. All our notions of honesty and openness are shocked by the idea of subscribing Articles in a sense which we do not even profess that their wording will bear. It is not necessary then to enter into all that might be said (and it is a great deal) in proof of its untenableness; rather we would confine our attention to the modification of it, which seems at first sight very near to the truth, and which has been advocated in a lately printed "Letter." According to this theory, we should not indeed be justified by any amount of Episcopal laxity in signing words which we could not ourselves honestly adopt, but neither are we justified in signing our formularies in a sense which the existing Bishops, as far as we can in any way discover, consider (not indeed untrue but) *inadmissible*. If I rightly understand the theory, we are not to wait for a formal condemnation; the moment we honestly entertain the conviction that the Episcopal Synod considers our opinions condemned by the Articles, we lose our power of honestly signing them. How much this leaves at the discretion of a particular body of Bishops, what power it gives them over the very formularies to which in the ordinary view they are subject, need not be stated: nor shall we be able to estimate rightly the arguments for or against this opinion, till we have drawn out as clearly as we can what appears its rival theory.

6. Before doing this, let me beg the reader's careful attention to the following passage from Mr. Newman's Sermons, in which he expresses doctrine held by every Catholic: ' Christ by ' coming in the flesh provided an external or appa- ' rent unity, such as had been under the Law. He ' formed His Apostles into a visible society. But, ' when He came again in the person of His Spirit, ' He made them all *in a real sense one*, not in name ' only. For they were no longer arranged merely in ' the form of unity, as the limbs of the dead may be, ' but they were *parts and organs of one unseen power* ; ' they really depended upon, and were off-shoots of ' that which was One. . . . Christ came not to make ' us one, but to die for us: the Spirit came to make ' us one in Him who had died and was alive, *that is*, ' to form the Church. This then is the special glory ' of the Christian Church, that its members do not ' depend merely on what is visible, they are not mere ' stones of a building piled one on another and bound ' together from without, but they are one and all the ' births and manifestations of one and the same ' unseen spiritual principle or power, "*living stones,*" ' *internally connected as branches from a tree*, not as ' the parts of a heap. . . . Before (the Spirit came) ' God's servants were as the dry bones of the ' Prophet's vision, connected by profession not by ' inward principle; but since, they are all the organs ' as *if of one invisible governing Soul*, the hands or ' the tongues or the feet or the eyes of *one and*

‘ *the same directing Mind.* Such is the
 ‘ Christian Church ; a *living* body and *one*, not a
 ‘ mere framework artificially arranged to *look* like
 ‘ one^d.’

Now, in proportion as we realize the full force of this great doctrine, we shall necessarily be compelled to consider every external development of any living branch of Christ’s Church, as the language of that Holy Spirit who resides within her. If the expression be not irreverent, the ‘ *imponens*’ of every statement which she is guided to put forth, *Whose* are really the words which she utters, *Who* quickens the forms which she ordains, is none other than *the Holy Ghost dwelling in the Catholic Church*. Let it be observed, I am not deciding what amount of error a local Church might superadd to the faith without losing her life ; much less what amount of *apparent* error she may present to the eye of a superficial observer, the memorial of past sin in her governors, and a heavy bondage restraining her activity and free development. I am saying only so much as this, that if we believe the Church to be the dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost, and to have been founded for the very purpose of bearing witness to ‘ the Faith, once (for all) delivered to the Saints,’ (and if we cease to believe this, we cease to be Catholics,) we cannot but interpret every general and ambiguous expression in her formularies in accordance, so far

^d Vol. iv. Serm. xi.

as the wording will allow, with that body of doctrine, which, from the first, the Spirit as by His overruling power He had caused it to be contained as to essentials within the words of Holy Scripture, so also has openly declared through the instrumentality of His organ the Church Catholic^e. Nor am I at all sure that this is not the fairest statement of the practical way in which the author of the Letter alluded to would look at the subject. It is far indeed, of course,

^e A principle has been lately advocated, if I rightly understand it, the direct opposite to this; viz. that we are to interpret not our formularies by Christian Antiquity but Christian Antiquity by our formularies. Were it only meant that, where there is no means of knowing the judgment of Antiquity, the decisions of our own Church *interpreted by herself* deserve deference at our hands, no one could quarrel with so wise and practical a statement; but to advocate an *ultimate* claim on our interior assent on the part of a local Church separated from by far the greatest part of Christendom, 'at a distance of from fifteen to eighteen centuries from the pure fountains of tradition, and exposed to political influences of a highly malignant character,' sounds an extravagant notion indeed, and one to which our Church herself has never made any pretension. It is interesting also to observe, in this as in many other cases, what natural temptation members of our Church have to the very faults they so strongly condemn in members of the Roman. What so common ground of attack on Roman Catholics as *that they look at Antiquity through the medium of the existing Church, rather than directly?* And the Roman Church claims *infallibility*, which makes the practice, in her case, at least *plausible*: the English Church repudiates any such claim.

from making of little importance the existing Bishops; on the contrary, the formal decision of the successors to the Apostles have, next to the Church's fixed formularies, the strongest claims on us, as the Voice of the Holy Ghost. From the lowest to the highest, from the "godly admonition" of the individual Bishop to the private Clergyman, up to the authoritative statements of the whole Episcopal Synod, each in its sphere and measure comes with God's delegated authority. Only, if this be the true way of regarding it, as, on the one hand, we interpret all and each of these decisions in the *most Catholic sense which their wording will admit*, so, on the other, we are exempt from the necessity, or duty, of looking for the opinions of individual Bishops in any other quarter than in those formal decisions of theirs which may come with authority *to us*. They do *not* speak as organs of the Spirit residing in the Church, unless when they speak formally *as Bishops* ^f.

This, if I may be allowed to repeat my own

^f Over the *Faith* the existing Church has no power except to define and declare it: 'rites and ceremonies' she has the 'power to decree,' (Art. xx.) From this it would seem to follow that, as ambiguities in *doctrinal statements* are to be interpreted (if possible) according to the "semper, ubique et ab omnibus," so ambiguities in matters of *ritual* and *positive ordinance*, where our governors express no wish any way, are most fitly interpreted according to the existing usage of other branches of the Church, especially the Western, by how much she is united to us by closer bonds and long standing claims.

words, was the meaning of the following passage in my last pamphlet. "To us, they (our formularies) come as the words of some old and revered friend, whom we have known long and well, and who has long taught us high and holy lessons ; and if, after such long experience, we hear from him words which at first sound strangely, we interpret them, *if possible*, in accordance with his well-known spirit. If they absolutely refuse to be so explained, we recognise with sorrow that we have mistaken his character ; but in proportion to our experience of the preciousness of his former counsels, in proportion to our perception of the plain traces he still bears upon him of his former self, are we unwilling to believe that any of his expressions may not be so interpreted." It may be added also that, if this be so, the Feasts and Fasts in our calendar, the Daily Service, &c. will have a certain claim on our observance, even though unhappily at any time there were no reason to believe that the Bishops in general wished to enforce them.

But here we are met by the Edinburgh Reviewer with the allegation that we have cast ourselves off from the Ancient Church : and if this be once granted, certainly the foregoing argument falls to the ground. Considering indeed the complete overthrow to the pretensions of all English Catholics which would ensue could that position be successfully maintained, one is not a little surprised that the writer treats it in so superficial and popular a

manner. For it is plain that all Englishmen of what are commonly called high-church principles, whatever be the shade and complexion of their doctrinal views, in whatever degree of intensity they hold those principles, all, I say, would have the very ground cut from under their feet, were it to be proved against them, that the present English Church is other than that which existed before Henry VIII. Great varieties of opinion with regard to the Reformation are perfectly consistent, and do in fact co-exist with Catholic opinions: some may think it a purification, some a corruption, some partly one and partly the other; all these are open questions, which no one can profess that our formularies decide either way, any more than whether we have gained or lost by the movement of 1688. But there are two extreme opinions which cannot possibly be called open questions with Anglo-Catholics: 1. if we consider the Church to have been so corrupt before the Reformation as to lose the essence of a Church, our Apostolical Succession which has passed through those times will be valueless, and high-church opinions an impossibility: 2. if we suppose the English Reformation to have severed us from the ancient body of the English Church, we shall be bound in consistency to leave our own communion and join the Church of Rome. The latter of these alternatives the Reviewer urges that we are thus bound to adopt: on our principles, he says,

“ the Church of England is the offspring of an “ unjustifiable schism and revolution.” Alter the wording of this a little, and Mr. Newman, at least, would appear not unwilling to admit it. He intimates, not very obscurely, (Tract, p. 79.) that, in releasing her from the Roman supremacy, her then governors were guilty of rebellion ; and considering they had also sworn obedience to the Pope, for my own part I see not how we can avoid adding, of perjury. The point on which Mr. Newman would take his stand is this ; that, estimating the sin at the highest, it was not “ that special sin which cuts off from the fountains of grace, and is called schism,” and this position (no one can deny that it is a difficult one) he maintained, in an article he has since acknowledged, in the British Critic a year ago. If the Reviewer is willing to discuss the arguments of that Article, he is at perfect liberty to do so : one does not see how any thing but good can come from a fair and acute consideration of it. But what does seem surprising is, that, while he labours and makes quotations to shew what Mr. N. not only does not deny, but expressly maintains, that Cranmer and Ridley were of different sentiments from himself on most subjects, (p. 280.) he treats the very question on which the whole position of his opponents depends in the following strain. “ *Every* “ *one must be astonished* that men, professing (these “ opinions), should continue to hold appointments “ in a Church, *which is generally understood* to have

“ been founded on the most positive denial of most
 “ of these doctrines, and on a consequent *secession*
 “ *from the great society* which continued to hold
 “ them. It is a *notorious historical fact*, that the
 “ doctrines in question . . . as a whole . . . have been
 “ *rejected by all Protestant communities.*” (p. 273.)
 Let him *prove* to us that the Church of England is a
 Protestant community; that it was founded on the
 denial of Catholic doctrines; that it *seceded* from
 the Ancient English Church which witnessed these
 doctrines; let him *prove* this; and, though the
 Articles were as obviously on our side as he con-
 sidered them overwhelmingly against us, our con-
 science could not allow us to remain one moment
 in a communion which had thus forfeited the gifts
 of grace.

7. This seems the proper place for noticing the
 view professed in the pamphlet I have alluded to,
 which would dispense with the ‘*animus imponentis*’
 altogether, and lead us to ‘*construe the Articles by*
 ‘*themselves.*’ The writer considers, ‘*that to a candid*
 ‘*and impartial inquirer the Articles require no inter-*
 ‘*pretation at all, and that the anxiety sometimes*
 ‘*shewn to call in collateral assistance when it is not*
 ‘*needed, is more frequently symptomatic of a wish*
 ‘*to evade than to explain.*’ (p. 5.) He conceives
 that ‘*our subscription to the Articles implies that*
 ‘*we respect as well as adopt them.*’ (p. 9.) Here
 one cannot but express surprise at the attempt, pro-
 ceeding apparently from quarters where we should

least expect it, to close open questions. It is at least *paradoxical*, and requires *proof*, that subscription to a test involves more than agreement to it, and implies approval of its imposition, or respect for its phraseology, viewed by itself, and as to its human origin. I am not of course expressing any opinion on the Articles in this particular; but claiming their Christian liberty for those who may desire it, on a subject in which our Church has allowed liberty. He adds, that our 'subscription implies that they are things to be believed, not to be cavilled at, or explained away,' which of course we fully acknowledge; but concludes, that they are '*our belief itself.*' If by this latter clause he means, what he seems to imply in other parts of the pamphlet, that subscription to the Articles involves our reception of them *as an adequate expression of our belief*, as a *system of theology* into which we throw ourselves to catch its spirit, and which places divine truths in that relative degree of prominence which we conceive them to claim, it is much to be lamented that he has not occupied himself in *proving* this position: for here too I apprehend most persons of high-church principles would be ready to acknowledge that they could not sign them on that understanding. Mr. Newman has argued with considerable force against any such view in Tract 82, p. xxxiii. One passage may be extracted to explain his own account of the matter. 'The English Church holds all that the primitive Church

‘ held, even in ceremonies, *except* there be some
 ‘ particular reason for not doing so in this or that
 ‘ instance; and only does not hold the modern
 ‘ corruptions maintained (he means I presume *prac-*
 ‘ *tically*) by Romanism. In these corruptions it
 ‘ departs from Rome; *therefore* these are the points
 ‘ in which it thinks it especially necessary to declare
 ‘ its opinion. To these were added the most sacred
 ‘ points of faith, in order to protest against those
 ‘ miserable heresies to which Protestantism had
 ‘ already given birth.’

But as to the general view of the pamphlet, it seems to have much force. Those of course who believe concerning our Church what Anglo-Catholics do believe, cannot, as I have said, possibly accept it: but with those who consider our Church Protestant, this view may be a fair rival to what was mentioned above as the fourth opinion on the ‘ animus imponentis.’ At the same time, I should wish to urge the writer on to his legitimate conclusions. Let him remember, that the Clergy not only ‘ ex animo subscribe’ the Articles, but ‘ give their assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer,’ and profess ‘ that there is nothing in it contrary to the word of God.’ And though the pamphlet maintains the *Articles* to be Protestant, its author will hardly deny the *Prayer Book* to be Catholic. Yet if this be so, he *must* explain the letter of the one, as far as may be, *by the spirit of the other*. Whichever he chooses as the foundation,

the *spirit* of the other, on his own shewing must be neglected, and the letter explained drily, and (what he would call) disingenuously. For instance, he considers that Article VI. determines as to Holy Scripture, 'that the person who reads therein is the person who is meant to prove thereby,' (p. 19.) i. e. that the private Christian is at liberty to follow on *all* points his own judgment on the text of Scripture, though it differ from the Church's judgment. Now the Prayer Book contains the Athanasian Creed, (which indeed the Articles also recognise,) and this Creed, if words have meaning, condemns as in itself a mortal sin (of course no judgment need be passed on individual cases) the holding any other doctrine of the Sacred Verities on which it treats than the detailed and specific one which it draws out. Most naturally, if it be the duty of the individual Christian to receive the Church's decision on such points; for then in declining to do so, he violates a plain duty; and the deliberate violation of a plain duty is *in itself* mortal sin. But most cruel indeed would be the decision, that a private individual may, or rather indeed *ought*, on such subjects, to draw his own opinion from Scripture, and yet if he fail to see in the Sacred Writings this definite statement, he is subject to so severe a sentence. This sort of enumeration, were it worth while, might be drawn out to almost any length: 'the Article on Baptism savours of a Calvinistic source.' Granted, yet the service for Baptism is so

plain that none can mistake. ‘The Article on the Holy Communion is vague and indeterminate:’ well—the statement in the Catechism will explain the ambiguity. ‘The Article on the Visible Church seems anti-Catholic;’ supposing it so for argument’s sake, still the Ordination Service in itself affords little doubt of its meaning. ‘The Articles on Justification seem Lutheran;’ let us consider the whole tone of the Prayer Book, the Confessions, (written, as is remarkable, by the Reformers themselves,) Prayers, Psalms, the appointment of Fast-days, &c. If then the opinion professed in the pamphlet as to the natural *spirit* of the Articles be true, (and I am not disposed to dispute it,) according to the writer’s own principles *by which of the two is he to hold?* and when he proceeds to explain the words of the other according to the spirit of that one, how will he rescue himself, according to his own statements, from the charge of ‘dethroning conscience from her tribunal, and ‘setting himself strong in all the soul-destroying ‘arts of verbal subtlety and mental reservation?’ (p. 23.)

II.

Having then brought out what appears the most accurate analysis of the view maintained in the Tract as to the “imponens,” we may go on to the question *now* more immediately in controversy.

For let me again remind the reader, that the discussion we have hitherto pursued is ex abundanti; at present we are maintaining that the Articles were never drawn up *with the view* of excluding those whose opinions we should follow. Of course the primâ facie objection to this hypothesis is, that, whatever may be made of their *logic*, as it has been most happily expressed, “their *rhetoric* is Protestant.” And in my last pamphlet I said, that, while many English Catholics would strongly oppose any such admission, Mr. Newman and those who think with him on the subject could not feel able to do so. This seemed as plainly implied in the Tract as words can imply it; and I ventured to state the sense in which those expressions seemed intended which at first sight looked the other way: viz. “if the Church be in *our sense of the words* a branch of the Church Catholic, she must be understood to mean certain doctrines by certain statements.” Nor does this seem at all an unnatural way of speaking in persons who are far from maintaining that those who think otherwise cannot subscribe our formularies; much less that every part of our Prayer-book and Articles witnesses harmoniously to the same line of doctrine. For instance, Dr. Arnold, whom I should be sorry indeed to speak of in other terms than those of high respect, in the appendix to his third volume of Sermons, speaks as follows; “the “twenty-first Article . . . effectually asserts the

“supremacy of Christian governors all over the world, over Christian Ministers thus *distinctly denying that the government of the Church is conveyed by the so-called Apostolical succession,*” &c. p. 436. “Those who think *with the Church of England* that the Christian Ministry is not a “Priesthood,” p. 432. I am far from supposing that Dr. Arnold means that so many of our Clergy from that day to this are really not justified in subscribing our formularies, because of their difference from him in this particular; rather I imagine he considers the particular form, into which Cranmer and Ridley moulded our doctrine and discipline, a remarkable testimony to what he conceives the truth; and thinks himself at liberty to interpret difficult parts of our formularies by the light of their opinions. For instance, in his interpretation of the words in the Ordination Service, he cannot suppose that he is expressing the fair and natural sense of the words; but rather mentioning the sense in which he subscribes them, and by which he brings them into harmony with what in *his* view is the general spirit of the Church of England. *Mutatis mutandis* this is exactly what the Tract does as to the Articles on which it treats.

However, as so much has been said about forced constructions, it may be as well to add the passage in our formularies, with Dr. Arnold’s explanation.

“Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of God, now

“ committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained.”

Dr. Arnold says, “ These words undoubtedly would be ‘ superstitious and ungodly’ in our mouths, if the well-known sentiments of the Church of England, that is, of the reformers of Edward the Sixth’s reign, as to the Priestly power, did not lead us in fairness to put *a true construction* on them. And this construction seems to be the following. The Bishop says to the candidate for Orders,

“ You have expressed your hope that you were moved by the Holy Ghost to enter on this Ministry. We are confident that He who has begun a good work in you, will complete it to the end; that, as He has given you the will, so also will He give you the power to do. May His help and blessing be with you, that by wisdom and goodness you may shew yourself a true Minister of Christ. Your office is to preach God’s word. Whosoever listens to your preaching, God will justify; and whoever despises it, him God will condemn^d.” Sermons, vol. iii. p. 423.

^d There is no quality more remarkable to the most casual observer in Dr. Arnold’s writings, than their very great frankness and openness. There need be the less scruple then in drawing attention to a curious omission in this part of his essay; for a reader must be prejudiced indeed who can attribute

Still, after all, it seems to be considered in some quarters, (I could hardly have thought it possible had I not good authority for knowing it,) that the Tract represents the Articles on which it treats as exhibiting, by their own wording and natural spirit, that sense in which Anglo-Catholics subscribe them. And the Reviewer complains accordingly, that ‘ Mr. Newman . . . attempts to pass off his interpretation . . . as the *genuine sense* of the Articles,’ (p. 288.) meaning apparently the same thing. Yet

to him any degree whatever of wilful disingenuousness. He says, (p. 422.) ‘ the words of our Lord to His Apostles must ‘ necessarily, when addressed by the Bishop to any man now ‘ ordained Minister, be interpreted in the first place as a prayer, ‘ as a charitable hope, rather than as signifying the actual and ‘ certain conveyance of any gift or *grace at that very time*, and ‘ by the *virtue of the laying on of hands*,’ &c. And just afterwards he explains, as we have seen, the words used by the Bishop in the Ordination of Priests: but he *takes no notice whatever* of the form used in the Consecration of Bishops, which contains the following passage; ‘ Receive the Holy Ghost, &c. ‘ . . . And remember that thou stir up *the grace of God* which ‘ is *given* thee by *this* imposition of hands.’

Is it uncharitable to say, that, had such an omission, with regard to so critical a doctrine, been found in the Tract, it would have raised in many persons a suspicion of wilful suppression which could hardly have been got over? Let me repeat, the very idea of such suppression in Dr. Arnold’s case would never for an instant cross my mind: I am only anxious to enforce the consideration on those whom it may concern, from such an example in so very open and plain-spoken a writer, how careful they should be, without the clearest evidence, in charging their brethren with unfair dealing.

it is difficult to think how the opposite can have been more clearly implied than it is in the Tract. In the conclusion it is alleged as an objection, "that it is an evasion of their meaning to give them any other than a Protestant drift, possible as it may be to do so grammatically, or in each separate part." And the answers Mr. Newman gives imply no denial whatever, that their *natural* drift is Protestant; indeed many highly respected persons have been much grieved at the Tract for conceding so much more than *they* could concede, with regard to the apparent Protestantism of parts of the Articles. And in the introduction he speaks of our being "in a disadvantageous state," "in prison, with Christ for our keeper," as "having betrayed His sacred truth," (p. 3.) as being "in bondage," "in chains;" "let us submit," it says, "to our imperfections, as a punishment; let us go on teaching through the medium of indeterminate confessions (with the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies, 1st ed.) and inconsistent precedents and principles but partially developed. . . . Let us not faint under that *body of death* . . . nor shrink from the *penalty of sins* which they inherited from the age before them." And in the note it not obscurely instructs us to look at "the judgment of King Charles's murder," as "lrought down by the crying sins" of the Reformation. (p. 5.) Is Mr. Newman, (*so cautious and guarded in his statements as all admit him*

to be,) is he to be supposed to use words of such unprecedented strength as these *without meaning* and *at random*? Or is it conceivable that he could use them if he thought our Articles fair and adequate exponents of Catholic Truth? How could he speak and think as he does of the English Reformation, if he supposed that the formulary then *originated* was even *as* naturally susceptible of Catholic as of Protestant interpretation? No! he would acknowledge, I apprehend, that as it has been expressed, while it is *patient* of a Catholic, it is *ambitious* of a Protestant, sense; that, while it was never intended to *exclude* Catholics, it was written by, and in the spirit of, Protestants; that, in consequence of it, the English Church *seems* at least to give an uncertain sound; that she fails in one of her very principal duties, that of witnessing plainly and directly to Catholic truth; that she *seems* to include whom she ought to repel, to teach what she is bound to anathematize; and that it is difficult to estimate the amount of responsibility she year by year incurs on account of those (claiming, as many of them do, our warm love for a zeal and earnest piety worthy of a purer faith) who remain buried in the darkness of Protestant error, because she fails in her duty of holding clearly forth to them the light of Gospel truth.

If it appears undutiful in a member of the English Church to speak so strongly of her defective state, let it be imputed to a strong convic-

tion, that, till we have the grace of humility in a far greater degree than we seem in general, since the schism of the sixteenth century, to have had it, there is little hope of our Church taking its proper place, whether in England or in Christendom. Let those whose love for her is lukewarm, content themselves with mourning *in private* over her decayed condition, her true and faithful children will endeavour to waken the minds of their brethren to a sense of her present degradation^e.

^e It may be thought that such statements, at all events, have a tendency to encourage the secession of our members to Rome. The opposite will I think be found true. Those whose tendency is that way are sure enough to find out and feel of themselves, and that the more keenly the more holy and self-denying their daily walk, our defects and corruptions. If they find no sympathy in our Church, they will leave it; if they find that English Churchmen of high repute and authority *do* sympathize fully with their feelings and wishes, and *yet* enforce the duty of remaining where they are, this and this only is likely to retain them. Nor can Mr. Newman be charged with any neglect of the task of pointing out the miserable *practical* corruptions of the Churches in the Roman obedience; (see his Letters to Dr. Jelf and the Bishop of Oxford;) corruptions which, whether or not so grievous as our own, (for this is no business of ours,) are sufficiently shocking and repulsive to afford the strongest argument against their claim to make up *of themselves* the *whole* Catholic Church. And if they do not; that is, if the English also be a branch, this is enough to make it a plain sin for any one of us to leave it. Mr. Newman's own opinion of the present state of Christendom may be gathered from the following passage in the British Critic.

“ It is impossible to read the history of the Church, *up to the*

‘ We can have no accord in action,’ says the Tract, ‘ till we agree together in heart,’ and ‘ till we seek one another as brethren, not lightly throwing aside our private opinions, which we seem to feel we have received from above, from an ill-regulated untrue desire of unity, but returning to each other in heart :’ and this cannot be, till we say plainly and openly, yet lovingly, what we think ; bearing with those who think otherwise, and endeavouring on each side to realize

“ *last four or five hundred years, with an unprejudiced mind, without perceiving that, whatever were the faults of her servants and the corruptions of her children, she has on the whole been the one element of civilization, light, moral improvement, peace, and purity, in the world. . . . In the darkest times . . . she will be found, when contrasted with other powers, to be fighting the cause of truth and right against sin, to be a witness for God, or defending the poor, or purifying or reforming her own functionaries, or promoting peace, or maintaining the holy Faith committed to her. This she was, till she quarrelled with herself and divided into parts; what she has been since, what she is now, a future age must decide; we can only trust in faith that she is what she ever has been, and was promised ever to be, one amid her divisions, and holy amid her corruptions. But returning to the thought of former and happier times, &c.*”

May I repeat also from my last pamphlet that our own Church is “ all the dearer to us her faithful children from her present captivity, and from the imminent dangers which have threatened her,” and that “ to remain in our own Church and by God’s help endeavour to elevate its tone, cannot be looked upon by the Catholic Christian as (only) the cold performance of a duty, but (as) a labour of love.”

our mutual feelings and impressions ; in the hope that the full truth, whatever it may be, may thus the more perfectly be elicited and recognized by us all.

And if it give pain to any persons that the English Reformers, whose memory they have so long been taught to cherish and revere, should be spoken of in a harsh and disrespectful manner, let them consider how necessary it is in self-defence to do so. Any thoughtful person of late years must have observed, that, whenever a fair discussion of our Articles should come on, a degree of plain speaking would be necessary, which before would have been wanton and cruel. That any disparaging language should be used of those persons, where it is likely to give pain, in a light careless way or without plain and direct cause, is of course quite indefensible : but it is come to this, that either plain words must be put forth about them, or all who agree with Mr. Froude and his editors in their estimate of them, and yet subscribe the Articles, must be accused, without the power of self-defence, of dishonesty and unfair dealing. And let it be remembered, that at least we are not without experience ourselves of the pain we unwillingly inflict on others. Not to dwell on the harsh and unkind manner in which our sister Churches are spoken of even by Catholic-minded and most highly respected persons, a manner more painful, perhaps, than they imagine to many an English Churchman,

refer only to the severe language in which those whom *we* revere as eminent saints, the Popes and others of the middle ages, are popularly spoken of. Think too, which is much to our present purpose, of the language used by Bishop Jewel, for instance, and other writers of that era themselves, with regard to those who went before them, and we shall hardly think *they* have much claim on the forbearance of posterity.

III.

This then is the point for our present discussion. Did the framers of the Articles intend to draw them up so as to *exclude* those who would think as Mr. Newman and his friends think? We do not deny that they meant also to include others, nay that the Articles taken by themselves more naturally and easily include others; and thus we have an obvious answer to an objection not unfrequently made, viz. that by the fact of our Prayer-book omitting, e. g. Invocation of Saints and Prayers for the Dead, a tacit condemnation is pronounced on such practices. Whereas it is plain that to admit them into our public services, would be to *require* belief in their lawfulness and propriety; and we only contend that such belief is not *forbidden*.

The ground on which I proceeded in my last pamphlet, and purpose again to proceed, is exclusively that of the internal evidence arising from

the known public documents of the period. I said also that the *historical fact* well deserved an attentive investigation, whether persons of undoubtedly Catholic sentiments did not subscribe; and any qualified person would perform a most important service by undertaking the enquiry. Of course the probability would remain untouched that it was much *desired* they should do so, even were the fact discovered to be doubtful; and it seems *primâ facie* plain, that the circumstances of the time would make them exceedingly anxious to preserve as much union as possible within the Church. Now we have the testimony of Mr. Gladstone in the same direction, the more valuable from being so wholly irrespective of the present controversy. ‘The main subject of contention between the State and the Romanists, or recusants, as they were called, *was not their adherence to this or that popish doctrine*, but their acknowledgment of an un-national and anti-national head.’ ‘The British government required of its subjects the renunciation *not of Romish doctrines*, but of the *ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope*^a.’ The tendency of the reasoning in the Tract, *proceeding from altogether independent considerations*, is exactly in the same way, viz. that the *Articles* also were not directed against those who retained the old doctrines, so that they were willing to join in a protest against the shameful practical corruptions

^a ‘State in its relations with the Church,’ p. 190, 1.

in existence, and also to give up their allegiance to the Pope. Mr. Gladstone, in proceeding to give the possible account of this procedure on the part of the government, mentions as one of two alternatives (he appears himself equally balanced between them) that "it was not the existing Church *as a religious institution*, but the secular ambition of the papal See, against which security was sought by renouncing its jurisdiction," "and we perceive," he adds, "the more clearly how far the idea of our reformers was from *any thing like alteration of essence*, or the overthrow of an old church and the erection of a new one." The author of a pamphlet called "Strictures on No. 90 of the Tracts for the Times," says, I know not on what authority, "History informs us of the fact, that many did truly sign the Articles who were not only Catholics, 'men who did not go so far in Protestantism as the framers,' but *Romanists*, *absolute Papists*." (Part ii. p. 87.) Papists, that is, of course, who agreed to give up the Pope, and I suppose, who further would protest against the practical "Romish" corruptions. This is plainly the point to which the reasoning in the Tract leads.

How then do we reconcile our two positions, that the Articles in themselves breathe a Protestant spirit, and yet were intended to admit persons of Anti-Protestant feeling?

1. The Articles were written by Protestants, and yet were written with the intention of being sub-

mitted to a Convocation, and with the wish that they should be signed by a clergy, great numbers of whom were more or less Catholic. If this be so, the *spirit* will naturally be that of the *framers*, and yet the *wording* carefully adjusted so as to admit others. Add to this, that verbal alterations would naturally be introduced in the course of the discussion in Convocation, and so a fresh contrast added between the *spirit* of the whole composition, and the *wording* of the individual parts. Now in proof of this difference in sentiment between the framers and others to whose wishes they were obliged to defer, we may mention :

I. On what the Pamphlet calls “ the *leading doctrine of Protestantism*, that all things necessary to salvation are to be found from the Scriptures by *an ordinary intellect*,” (p. 7.) on what the Reviewer considers “ *the great principle of the Reformation*,” that “ the Bible is the *sole oracle of God*,” (p. 278.) it is a plain undeniable fact, that if the leading Reformers *were* Protestant, *were* faithful sons of the Reformation, they differed from the Convocation which sanctioned the Articles. (See post, p. 46.)

II. The same conclusion that *either* the framers of the Articles were *not* Protestant, *or* that whatever their own tendency to Erastianism, or to toleration of Presbyterianism, or to considering the ancient Church Apostate, or to denial of the Church’s office as the appointed channel for dispensing the

fruits of Christ's atonement, they *intended* to retain as Clergymen of the Church those who thought *otherwise*, follows from the very fact of the Prayer Book remaining untouched by that Convocation. To what purpose the Ordination Service with the introduction forbidding any man to be "accounted a lawful Clergyman of the Church of England without Episcopal Ordination," unless it was wished to include those who thought such Ordination *essential*? for what reason the habit, which has lasted up to the present time, of re-ordaining a Protestant Teacher and *not* re-ordaining a Roman Priest on joining us, if it were intended to *rule* that we were a Protestant Church? to what end the marked omission of the word "Protestant," in both Prayer Book and Articles? the strong language in the Baptismal and Communion Service? the Absolution in the Visitation of the Sick? the retention of all the old frame-work of the Church, of the temporal rights of Bishops, of Chapters, &c.? indeed the catalogue is almost endless of the external works of agreement with the Ancient System which were retained.

III. "The variety of doctrinal views contained in
 " the Homilies, views which cannot be brought under
 " Protestantism itself in its greatest comprehension
 " of opinions, is an additional proof, considering
 " the connexion of the Articles with the Homilies,
 " that the Articles were not framed on the prin-
 " ciple of excluding those who prefer the theology

“ of the early ages to that of the Reformation.” (Tract, p. 81.) It is astonishing how so acute a writer as the Author of the Pamphlet should have so entirely missed the force of this argument. He quotes Mr. Newman’s words, “ I have not subscribed the Homilies, &c.” and adds, “ and yet “ this yoke, which he is so unwilling to wear “ himself, *he would impose upon the Articles:*” (p. 20.) as though it were intended to claim the latter as *authoritatively* Catholic. The plain scope of the reasoning is this, if the Articles were framed on the principle of *excluding* Catholics, would not Catholic doctrines have been to a certainty carefully excluded from the Homilies? yet they are far from being so excluded. “ The authority of the Fathers, “ of the six first Councils, and of the judgments of “ the Church generally, the holiness of the Primitive Church, the inspiration of the Apocrypha, “ the sacramental character of Marriage and other “ Ordinances, the Real Presence in the Eucharist, “ the Church’s power of excommunicating kings, “ the profitableness of fasting, the propitiatory “ virtue of good works, the Eucharistic commemoration, and justification by inherent righteousness (1st ed.) are taught in the Homilies,” Tract, p. 75; therefore the Articles were (not intended to *teach* Catholicism, the Tract no where asserts that, but) not framed on the principle of *excluding* Catholics. The pamphlet in reply to the question, ‘ whether we ought to con-

‘strue the Articles inclusively or exclusively,’ says, ‘Honestly. Take care of that, and let ‘inclusion or exclusion take care of itself.’ (p. 11.) Yet this is no adequate answer to the doubt stated. The meaning of those who ask the question, is to ask, are we to look at the Articles as ‘of the nature of a *creed*, intended to *teach* doctrine, or of the nature of a *joint declaration*,’ intended to be vague and to include persons of discordant sentiments? Here shall follow Mr. Newman’s opinion on this subject, which will the more shew the total inadequacy of the answer given in the pamphlet. ‘The meaning of the ‘Creed (and again of the Liturgy) is *known* ;’ there ‘is no opportunity for doubt here: it means but ‘one thing; and he who does not hold that one ‘meaning, does not hold it at all. But the case is ‘different, (to take an illustration,) in the drawing ‘up of a political declaration or of a petition to ‘Parliament. It is composed by persons, differing ‘in matters of detail, agreeing together to a certain ‘point and for a certain end. Each *narrowly watches* ‘that *nothing is inserted* to prejudice his own ‘particular view, or *stipulates for the insertion* of ‘what may rescue it. Hence general words are ‘used, or particular words inserted, which by ‘superficial enquirers afterwards are criticised as ‘vague and indeterminate on the one hand, or ‘inconsistent on the other: but in fact they all ‘have a meaning and a history could we ascertain

‘ it. And if the parties concerned in such a
 ‘ document are legislating and determining for pos-
 ‘ terity, they are respective representatives of cor-
 ‘ responding parties in the generations after
 ‘ them. Now the Thirty-nine Articles lie between
 ‘ these two, between a Creed and a mere joint
 ‘ Declaration: to a certain point they have mean-
 ‘ ing, so far as they embody the doctrine of the
 ‘ Creed; they have different meanings so far as
 ‘ they are drawn up by men influenced by the
 ‘ discordant opinions of the day.’ Tract 82. p. xxx.

Thus, then, we have one reason to give for the phenomenon we are discussing. The Articles were written by Protestants, and *therefore* naturally breathe the Protestant spirit; yet those Protestants either carefully worded them at the time or admitted modifications of them afterwards, with the very *intention* of not excluding those of an opposite spirit.

2. A second reason why they appear to us more Protestant than they really are, is that from long habit in some cases we have come to look on Roman *doctrines* as condemned, when only the corruptions of those doctrines, fostered by so many of the priests and received by the people at large, were aimed at. This in my last pamphlet I enforced at some length with regard to the twenty-second Article, by help of quotations from the Homilies and in elucidation of the reasoning in the Tract. Nor am I aware of any attempt to invalidate the

reasoning I there used, or which calls for further remark on the subject. Such also is perhaps the account of the thirty-first Article^s.

3. A third consideration to be borne in mind is, that they really seem in some cases to have confused the popular superstitions with doctrines maintained by holy and religious men; so that they considered themselves to be condemning opinions seriously maintained by the latter, when in fact these last would join in the condemnation as readily as they could themselves. This seems the *more probable* account of the thirty-first Article^s, and the true account of the twelfth and thirteenth^r. Somewhat similar is the account of the condemnation of the word 'transubstantiation' in the twenty-eighth Article: on which such gross and impious superstitions seem to have existed among the people, nay, such startling statements to have been made even by writers of repute and spiritually-minded men, (see Tract, p. 47—51.) that it is not to be wondered at that the word should be supposed necessarily to involve more than it really does. Mr. Palmer on the Church, (vol. ii. p. 224.) considers 'it very probable that Innocentius in the synod of Lateran,' (in introducing the term 'transubstantiation,') 'did not intend to establish any thing except the doctrine of the real presence.' In the case of the fourteenth Article we are not left in uncertainty; they explicitly state the doctrine they condemn, viz. that by which 'men do

^s On these Articles more will be said presently.

‘ declare that they do not only render unto God as
 ‘ much as they are bound to do, but that they do
 ‘ more for his sake than *of bounden duty is required.*’
 I apprehend such a notion as this, if put forth by
 any in conspicuous position, would have been
 anathematized in any age of the Christian Church.
 Luther seems to have been the first who taught in
 public, and founded a sect on the position, that the
 whole Law of God is not binding on the Christian’s
 conscience ; and if the remark do not appear para-
 doxical, he really seems in some of his writings to
 take the view condemned in the Article^b. That
 doctrine of orthodox believers, as I stated in my
 last pamphlet, which seems popularly supposed to
 be here condemned and yet which so plainly is not,
 is truly stated thus, viz. that ‘ it is possible for His
 ‘ sake to do more, to make higher advances in holi-
 ‘ ness, than the *least* which in His great mercy for
 ‘ the merit of Christ’s death, He will accept as
 ‘ sufficient to salvationⁱ.’

^b e. g. ‘ Hanc [*justitiam Christi*] cum intus habeo, *descendo*
 ‘ *de cælo* hoc est prodeo foras in *aliud regnum* et facio bona
 ‘ opera *quæcunque mihi occurrent.*’ Luther Arg. in Gal. quoted
 by Newman on Justif. p. 31.

ⁱ There is (I believe) no doctrine on works of supererogation
 authoritatively taught *by* the Church of Rome: and the com-
 monly received account of them *in* that Communion is altogether
 on a distinct subject, and connected with the temporal sufferings
 due to sin. In defence of the latter truth (that afflictions in this
 world *do* come as punishments for past sin in the justified)
 which has lately been impugned, see Newman’s Sermons, vol. iv.
 Sermon. vii. viii.

4. So far then, there is nothing which many admirers of the Reformers need hesitate to admit ; nothing at all disparaging to their honesty and open dealing. But in the mind of the Author of the Tract (and many feel with him) there still remain peculiarities in the phraseology of the Articles which cannot be accounted for without going further. ‘ Some there are,’ says the Pamphlet very truly, ‘ who hold that the Reformers ‘ deliberately drew up the Articles with a view ‘ of presenting an appearance of Protestantism ‘ which a more minute examination will not bear ‘ out ; thus taking a distinction between their ‘ *primâ facie* and their *literal* sense.’ (p. 21.) By help of this view I followed the Tract in my last publication in endeavouring to throw light on the twenty-eighth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-second Articles. It will not be necessary to say more on the subject, than that if true it cuts very deep, and the consideration of it will relieve many minds of perplexities on several kindred subjects which much distress them. There is documentary evidence to shew that Bishop Jewel at least was exceedingly anxious that our Church should appear to foreign Protestants as agreeing with themselves ; but indeed in their position, whether in Elizabeth’s or Edward the Sixth’s time, it must have been of the highest importance to them that the English Church should have the appearance in the eyes of Christendom of being *united* in Protestant opinions. To adjust

between this consideration and the last with accuracy is of course not possible nor at all important: on the one hand, that they were really and honourably zealous against many practical corruptions, cannot be doubted; and their failing to think of the distinction between such corruptions and the truth of which they were perversions, 'would seem a natural result from their apparent tendency to view religious opinions *from without*, rather looking at them in their effects on the mass of men, than applying themselves to the enquiry, what might be their meaning, and what place they might legitimately hold, in the mind of the more religious.' On the other hand, such wish of our Church's appearing externally Protestant, would disincline them to any very careful and pains-taking attempts to master the real doctrine, in order that by help of what *sounded* like a condemnation of Ancient doctrine the *apparent* difference between our own Church and Rome might be the greater.

The writer of the pamphlet proceeds, with apparent reference to myself individually; 'Such men are fallen on evil days; they should have lived in times when they might have *originated* the pious frauds they are now only able to benefit by.' Is not this rather hard? The view in question may be true or false; but *if* true, is it not a strange notion of poetical justice that Protestant 'pious frauds' of three centuries since, should injure now *not* Protestants but Catholics?

Let us now then proceed at once to the Article on General Councils: for the Reviewer and many other persons seem to think the interpretation of this Article in the Tract to be so flagrant a case, that till it is disposed of, one can hardly expect fair attention to the subject of other Articles.

“ XXI. *Of the Authority of General Councils.*

“ General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes. And when they be gathered together, (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God,) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of holy Scripture.”

Now it will at once be said, as it has been so often, that at first sight the natural spirit and drift of this Article seems to deny *any* infallible authority to *any* General Councils, and to declare that no General Council has any claim on the consciences whether of local churches or of individuals, except so far as its decrees approve themselves to *their* judgments as *accordant with Scripture*. Now I not only do not deny that this seems on reading it the natural drift of the Article, but I strongly *maintain* it; I maintain it, in order that if it be shewn quite *impossible* that this *can* have been the sense in which it was sanctioned, any proposed interpreta-

tion may be free from the à priori objection, that it appears rather a strain upon the words. If the words, *unless* rather a strain be put upon them, seem naturally to determine what it is quite certain they were never *meant* to determine, then they *must* have rather a strain put upon them. Nor do I decide how far the consideration spoken of in the last paragraph may serve to account for its strong primâ facie *appearance* of decreeing what it certainly does *not* decree. Let me make then rather large quotations from Mr. Perceval's late pamphlet, with the view of shewing not only the amount of deference paid in the public documents of our Church to primitive antiquity as interpreting Scripture *with authority*, but even the deference which the Reformers themselves (whether honestly and heartily or not is another matter) professed for it in this particular.

“ Let us hear Cranmer speaking :

“ ‘ I protest that it was never in my mind to
 “ write, speak, or understand any thing contrary to
 “ the most holy Word of God, or else against *the*
 “ *holy Catholic Church of Christ*, but purely and
 “ simply to imitate and teach *those things only*
 “ which I had learned of the Sacred Scripture,
 “ *and of the Catholic Church of Christ* from the
 “ beginning, and also *according to the exposition*
 “ *of the most holy and learned fathers and martyrs*
 “ *of the Church*. And if any thing, peradventure,
 “ hath chanced otherwise than I thought, I may

“ err ; but heretic I cannot be, forasmuch as I am
 “ ready *in all things* to follow the judgment of the
 “ most sacred Word of God, *and of the holy Catholic*
 “ *Church.*’—Appeal to a General Council.

“ Ridley speaks thus : ‘ When I perceive the
 “ greatest part of Christianity to be infected with
 “ the poison of the See of Rome, I repair to the
 “ usage of *the primitive Church.*’

“ Farrar, Hooker, Taylor, Philpot, Bradford,
 “ and Coverdale, speak thus : ‘ We doubt not, by
 “ God’s grace, but we shall be able to *prove* all our
 “ confession here to be *most true*, by the verity of
 “ God’s word, *and consent of the Catholic Church.*’—
 “ Confession at Oxford, 1554.

“ Philpot still more plainly speaks thus, at his
 “ fourth examination :—The Bishop of Gloucester
 “ asked him, ‘ I pray you, by whom will you be
 “ judged in matters of controversy which happen
 “ daily ?’ Philpot answered, ‘ By the Word of
 “ God, for Christ saith in St. John, the Word that
 “ He spake shall be judge in the latter day.’ The
 “ Bishop then asked him, ‘ What if you take the
 “ Word one way, and I another way, who shall
 “ judge then ?’ Mark Philpot’s answer : ‘ THE
 “ PRIMITIVE CHURCH.’ ”

Mr. Perceval next alludes to “ the decision of
 “ the Church of England in the time of the
 “ Reformation,” “ a decision pronounced in open
 “ Synod, and propounded to the Clergy of the
 “ Church of England.” “ It was decreed in the

“ Convocation of 1571, assembled under Arch-
 “ bishop Parker, and ratified by him.” (p. 10.)
 “ The decree is entitled, *De Concionatoribus*, and
 “ contains rules for the guidance of all preachers
 “ in the Church of Eng’land. The words which
 “ concern the point in dispute are as follows: ‘ In
 “ the first place, they (the preachers) shall see that
 “ they *never teach any thing*, for a discourse, which
 “ they wish to be *religiously held and believed by the*
 “ *people, but what is agreeable to the doctrine of the*
 “ *Old and New Testament, AND WHAT THE CATHO-*
 “ *LIC FATHERS AND ANCIENT BISHOPS have col-*
 “ *lected out of that same doctrine.’ ”*

“ If more proof is wanted, I can adduce it in
 “ abundance, by citing the Book of Homilies,
 “ prepared by the Reformers in the reigns of
 “ Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, for the in-
 “ struction of all classes of the people; recom-
 “ mended by our Articles to this day as fit for
 “ that purpose; and to a general approval of
 “ which, every member of the University of Ox-
 “ ford, every graduate of Cambridge, and every
 “ bishop, priest, and deacon in the Church of
 “ England, is pledged by the subscription of his
 “ own hand. If there be one feature throughout
 “ the whole of the Homilies more remarkable than
 “ another, it is the exhibition of that very principle
 “ of deference to the ancient Church, for the
 “ maintenance of which so much reproach has
 “ been heaped upon our heads. In this mode-

“ rately-sized volume of sermons we find Ambrose,
 “ and Anselm, and Athanasius, and Arnobius, and
 “ Augustine, and Basil, and Bede, and Bernard,
 “ and Boniface, and Chrysostom, and Clemens,
 “ and Cyprian, and Cyril, and Damascene, and
 “ Dionysius, and Epiphanius, and Eusebius, and
 “ Eusebius of Emissa, and Eutropius, and Ful-
 “ gentius, and Gregory, and Hilary, and Ignatius,
 “ and Irenæus, and Jerome, and Isidore, and
 “ Justin, and Lactantius, and Origen, and Œcu-
 “ menius, and Optatus, and Prosper, and Paulus
 “ Diaconus, and Photius, and Serenus, and Theo-
 “ phylact, and Tertullian, and Zephyrus, and Ze-
 “ phyrinus, and others, quoted with a frequency
 “ of which we have no parallel in these times.
 “ I have noted forty citations from Augustine
 “ only. The terms in which they are spoken
 “ of are no less remarkable than the frequency
 “ of the citations. ‘ The great clerk and godly
 “ preacher ;’ ‘ the learned and godly doctor ;’ ‘ a
 “ godly father ;’ ‘ the holy fathers and doctors ;’
 “ and expressions of the same kind, meet us at
 “ every turn. Nor is this all : they are cited as
 “ persons, to whose testimony, judgment, and
 “ decision, the very greatest deference is due :—
 “ ‘ St. Augustine, a doctor of great authority and
 “ also antiquity, hath this opinion :’ ‘ You see that
 “ the authority both of the Scripture and also of
 “ Augustine ;’ ‘ It is already proved, both by the
 “ Scriptures and by the authority of Augustine ;’

“ ‘ To know which they be, St. Augustine teacheth
 “ us ;’ ‘ Ye have heard how earnestly both the
 “ apostles, prophets, holy fathers, and doctors,
 “ do exhort us ;’ ‘ If the wholesome counsel of
 “ godly fathers or the love of Christ may move
 “ us ;’ ‘ Being warned by his holy Word, and by
 “ the writings of old godly doctors and ecclesias-
 “ tical histories ;’ and so throughout. The appeal
 “ for the truth of Christian doctrine is uniformly
 “ made, not to the Scriptures only, but to the
 “ Scriptures corroborated by the Fathers ; of which
 “ I will add only one more instance,—that, namely,
 “ in which we are instructed how to ascertain the
 “ truth concerning the celebration of the Lord’s
 “ supper. ‘ But *before all other things*, this we must
 “ be sure of *especially*, that this supper be in such
 “ wise done and ministered, as our Lord and
 “ Saviour did and commanded to be done, as his
 “ holy Apostles used it, and *the good fathers of the*
 “ *primitive Church frequented it.*”

Now after this, can any man in his senses suppose, that the *same* Convocation, the *same* Reformers, the Articles generally sanctioning the *same* Homilies, intended to *rule*, that no doctrine claimed reception which did not commend itself to the *private judgment* (whether of the local Church or of the individual) as agreeable to Scripture, though it were one which the early Church *did* see in the Sacred Volume? Yet if they did *not* mean this, it is necessary to do some

violence to the spirit of this Article, and accurately to analyse its words, to discover what they *did* mean.

In my last publication I mentioned internal evidence, which seemed satisfactory, as shewing that the Article (if I may so express myself) really *has* no spirit as it now stands: that there are plain marks of a few words having been afterwards inserted, which may be said to make its *drift* self-contradictory. For what force or meaning is there in this, “forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, &c. they may err . . . even in things pertaining to God. *Wherefore* [although we do not deny that in points of doctrine *not* necessary to salvation they have *infallible authority*, e. g. ‘whether Purgatorial pain be by fire,’ or ‘whether Invocation of Saints be right,’ yet] things ordained by them *as* necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority,” &c. And this very qualification as to doctrines ‘necessary to salvation,’ which has plainly been thus rudely thrust in, to the disarrangement and overthrow of the argument and *run* of the Article, is, as I said, the very same mentioned not only in the 6th and 20th Articles, but also in the Ordination Service. In all these cases the same restriction as to *what* doctrine must be proved by Scripture, and in all, it is important to add, the same silence on the question, who is to *judge* of the scripturalness of any alleged doctrine^h.

^h As regards the absence of determination in favour of private

I feel convinced, that if any one will bring himself fairly to look at our Articles with his eyes open, and dismissing that strength of preconceived opinion which seems on this point quite to confuse the calm judgment of some who have written on it, he will see that the ground which our formularies have taken up against what their framers considered Roman innovations, is, as far as Scripture is concerned, ‘nothing is *necessary to salvation* ‘ which cannot be *shewn us*’ (ostendi, is the word in this Article) in Scripture: on necessary points, no writing, no religious body is of authority, except as *interpreting* Scripture. To those who came upon them with an alleged truth, and professed for it the sanction of a General Council, they would answer, ‘General Councils may err ‘ and have erred; do they profess to see it in ‘ *Scripture?* if not, it is *no necessary truth.*’ That on such points Scripture is to be interpreted *not* on

judgment, the pamphlet says, “The Article (the 20th) mentions “several things which the Church ought not to do. Whom then “did it contemplate as the judge whether the Church had done “these things or not? The Church? Then the matter will stand “thus; the Church must not do certain things; if she does, the “appeal lies from the Church doing to the Church judging, and “the whole becomes a complicated absurdity.” (p. 19.) How strange that the writer should not have perceived, that if the governors of the Church subscribe a declaration that the Church *ought not* to do certain things, there is a much stronger probability than otherwise that the Church *will* not do them.

private judgment but on *authority*, every one, after what has been said, must allow to have been *at the very least* a doctrine *tolerated* by them; and the question whether such authority reside merely in the general judgment of the Primitive Church, or also and more determinately in certain Councils, was altogether beside the mark, and its decision either way would give *no additional strength* to the ground they took up against Rome. The sixth Article says, ‘at all events all necessary points are contained in Scripture,’ the twentieth Article that ‘the local Church has no authority on such points except as *interpreting* Scripture,’ the twenty-first (as I would maintain) ‘that neither has the Universal Church¹.’ I am not determining how far

¹ I mentioned also in my last pamphlet the practical result of the difference between this statement and the Roman to be that far greater encouragement would be given to the reverent study of the Sacred Volume on the part of the laity, if the Clergy were bound not to teach necessary truth to the people simply on the Church’s authority, but according to primitive usage, to point out carefully to them the passages of Scripture in which it is enclosed. I conceive that on *such* points at least no more is left to the private judgment in the primitive view than in the Roman. An ingenious writer, who however does not draw out the distinction as *agreeing* in either position, distinguishes them thus (I quote from memory): ‘the *Roman Catholic* teaches the people on the Church’s authority that certain doctrines are true and necessary: the *English Catholic* teaches the people on the Church’s authority, 1. that certain doctrines are true and necessary; 2. that they are expressed in certain passages of Scripture.’

their position would really have been of much service to them in discussion with an acute Roman controversialist ; (it has certainly never been *denied* by the Roman Church that all necessary truth is in Scripture ;) I am not determining whether some Members of the Convocation so often referred to may not have very well known that the Articles ruled nothing on these points which other Churches would condemn ; but it seems to me as plain as any fact connected with the Articles, that it *was* the position they took up.

But the pamphlet says, “ It is *possible* (right ?) “ for him who believes that *some* General Councils “ are infallible to sign an Article which says that “ General (*clearly meaning all* General) Councils “ may err ; that is, it is possible (right ?) for him “ to subscribe one proposition and *believe its* “ *logical contradictory.*” (p. 13.) Again, “ The “ Article makes these three propositions. No “ General Council may be called together, &c. All “ General Councils *may* err. Some *have* erred.” (p. 20.) The Reviewer expresses himself still more strongly. Not to quote more than is necessary to shew what the force of his objection is. “ Here is “ a man, who . . . *swore*^m . . . that he believed that “ General Councils, without the least hint of any “ exception, may err in things pertaining to God,

^m By the way, on what occasion do clergy *swear* to belief in the Articles? but the Reviewer says, “ swear in the most public, “ the most positive, the most sacred manner.”

“ and deliberately declaring that some General
 “ Councils are infallible.” (p. 285.) “ Let us
 “ suppose some Roman Catholic to have taken
 “ the oath of allegiance to the Queen, and to have
 “ been afterwards detected in a conspiracy against
 “ her throne and life why should he not
 “ answer that the duty of dethroning here-
 “ tics, when practicable, was *a real, though un-*
 “ *expressed, exception* to his oath?” I have been a
 little surprised at the force which many people
 have seen in such statements ; for it does not seem
 an unusual form of speech : e. g. some one says to
 a Roman Catholic, “ you should believe this, for
 “ no less authority than the Kirk of Scotland has
 “ declared it :” he answers, “ Religious commu-
 “ nities, consisting as they do of fallible men,
 “ may err and have erred in points of doctrine.”
 Is that an unnatural answer? would any one
 call it inconsistent with his belief that *some* religi-
 ous communities are *infallible*, viz. those in com-
 munion with Rome? Yet if he were obliged to
 put out in a hard and dry way the mode in which
 he reconciled the two statements, it must be in
 something like the following words, “ Religious
 “ communities may err *as such* ; may err *unless*
 “ in any case it is promised that they shall not
 “ err : the natural *tendency* of the fact that they
 “ consist of fallible men is that they may err ; and
 “ the tendency will be carried into effect *except in*
 “ *cases* where a special Providence prevents it. Or-

“dinarily, therefore, and *as such*, they are fallible, though I believe there *are* cases where they are not.” And as to the exception in the present instance not being *mentioned*, to mention it would be to *rule* that some General Councils are infallible: we only maintain that the *contrary* is *not* ruled. Or to take a case still more in point, might not any one of us, if compelled to express difference, say from some one of the Tracts for the Times, and pressed with the consideration of their authority, from the character of the contributors, answer, “their writers are learned and able men certainly: but the writings of the best men, since the best men are fallible, may err and sometimes have erred even in things pertaining to God.” And should it afterwards appear that the speaker considered that the books of Holy Scripture, though “writings of fallible men,” still may *not* and have *not* erred on points of religion, what would be said should his adversary turn round and accuse him of “mental reservation,” or “of destroying all confidence in the honour and good faith of mankind?”

Still the impression may remain on the mind of many that this distinction between General and Catholic Councils is taken up to serve a present emergency; that at the time the Articles were written, and always before, “General Councils” meant simply “such as were held to be infallible:” that the notion of “General” being the genus, and “Catholic or Infallible” the species, is intro-

duced ingeniously for a purpose. Now although the case were, as the objection supposes, that *General* had always before meant *Infallible* Councils, it would not follow that the Article intended to rule more than this, that no Council *could* be infallible as to essentials, except as *interpreting* Scripture; leaving open the question, whether or not it could be so in that case; but the fact is altogether otherwise. On the one hand Bellarmine not only gives an instance of a *national* Council being called *general*ⁿ, but draws a distinction, giving a large number of instances of each, between ‘*Concilia Generalia approbata,*’ ‘*Concilia Generalia reprobata,*’ and ‘*Concilia Generalia partim confirmata partim reprobata*°;’ and though he seems occasionally to use ‘*general*’ in its stricter sense, as synonymous with what he calls, ‘*verum Ecclesiæ Concilium*’^p, yet his *ordinary* use of the word ‘*General Council,*’ in his first eight chapters, which are all I have read, is certainly as a *genus*, a particular *class* of which only is infallible. On the other hand, with regard to the other party in the Roman Church, Mr. Palmer quotes among others the following: ‘*Quidam theologi opinantur hanc ecclesiæ approbationem omnem auctoritatem*

ⁿ De Conciliis et Ecclesiâ, lib. i. cap. 4.

° Cap. 5. 6. et 7. ‘The latter he heads only, *Concilia partim confirmata partim reprobata,*’ but the first words of the chapter are, ‘*Primum generale partim confirmatum, partim reprobatum.*’

^p Cap. 8.

‘ *Concilio Generali tribuere.*’ Bouvier^q. ‘ *Temerarium est dicere quia Concilium Generale circa fidem errare non potest.*’ Ockham^r. Are either of these phrases less strong than those in our Article? And yet we know that their writers considered *some* General Councils infallible. To the same effect he quotes De Barral, Trevern, and Bossuet^s. Thus then it seems that while members of one party in the Roman Church say that General Councils may err *as such* and unless confirmed by the Pope; of the other party, ‘ unless confirmed by the Universal Church;’ the English Churchman is allowed to say, ‘ General Councils may err *as such*, and *on necessary points* may err, unless ‘ they prove their decrees from Scripture.’ We take the Article then thus, ‘ General Councils may ‘ not be gathered, &c. and when they be gathered ‘ together, forasmuch as, &c. they may err and ‘ sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining ‘ unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them ‘ have neither strength nor authority unless [there ‘ be some special mark upon them distinguishing ‘ them from common General Councils; and this ‘ there will not be unless] things ordained by them ‘ *as necessary to salvation* be shewn to be taken out ‘ of Holy Scripture,’ i. e. unless Scripture texts

^q ‘ On the Church,’ vol. ii. p. 154.

^r p. 157.

^s p. 154, 5.

be pointed out by them as containing in their judgment the doctrines they decree. And ‘for the importance of this test of the Catholicity of a General Council, see Newman’s *Prophetical Office of the Church*, lect. viii. where he brings out the fact, that the first General Council which professed to ground its decrees not on Scripture sanction, but mainly on tradition, was the first which framed as an *Article of faith* what was beside and beyond the Apostles’ Creed, was the Council which decreed the worship of images, and was the first which took place *certainly* after the schism had taken place between the East and West.’

One misapprehension in the Reviewer on this subject remains to be noticed. He quotes from the Tract, ‘such a case is beside the Articles’ determination;’ and continues, ‘Be it so, but who compels you to sign the Article if you think it *wrong or presumptuous?*’ (p. 286.) and to shew more clearly his strange mistake of the Author’s meaning, he actually quotes the words in p. 294, as follows, ‘a case which lies beyond the scope of the Article, or at any rate beside its *jurisdiction*,’ plainly thinking Mr. Newman to mean by ‘determination,’ ‘legitimate province or jurisdiction.’ Yet the sentence in the Tract does not seem obscure: ‘a case which lies beyond the *scope* of this Article,’ i. e. which does not come within the range of subjects *aimed at* in the Article, ‘or

‘ at any rate beside its *determination*,’ i. e. or at any rate which it *has* not happened to determine.

To bring the subject of this Article to a close, I cannot feel the difficulty with regard to the first clause so strongly as Mr. Perceval has done. He says^t, that ‘ if the Bishops of the Church were ‘ reduced to so few, that even a score or a dozen ‘ of the inhabitants of the same country might ‘ constitute a General Council in the fullest sense ‘ of the words: yet, even these, *if the Article is ‘ to be taken as affirming a principle*, must not ‘ meet together to consult for the preservation of ‘ the Church without the command of the prince, ‘ who might be a heathen.’ It seems very possible surely to take the Article as asserting a *principle*, and yet not thinking of extreme cases. In the state of things which then existed, which had existed more than 1000 years, which essentially still exists, it is wrong *in principle* for General Councils to meet ‘ without the commandment and ‘ will of princes.’ Dr. Arnold himself (see p. 25.) would not say that in *all* cases, e. g. if the king were a heathen, it would be wrong for them so to meet. But in the actual state of things, ‘ it is plain ‘ from the *principles* of civil obedience and from ‘ primitive practice’ (founded on those principles) ‘ that great bodies of men, of different countries, ‘ may not meet together without the sanction of ‘ their (civil) rulers.’ Tract, p. 21.

^t Vindication, &c. p. 24.

What has been said on this head sufficiently illustrates the kindred Articles, the sixth and twentieth: it is only necessary therefore to advert to what has been said against the Tract on the subject of their interpretation. The Reviewer says with great simplicity, that ‘the Oxford divines *do* hold ‘that doctrines not found in the Bible are yet ‘essential to salvation:’ one can only answer, they do *not*, and challenge proof of the statement. He alleges the doctrine of the necessity of Apostolical succession in order to the existence of a real Church, and in order (according to God’s *appointed method*) to the participation in the Body and Blood of Christ; also the doctrine of the necessity of the latter (still according to God’s appointed method, for no one denies there may be exceptions) ‘to the ‘maintenance of Christian life and hope in the ‘individual.’ p. 277. Of course he will not expect a theological discussion on these subjects; it is sufficient to say that they *do* believe that these doctrines are all to be ‘found in the Bible;’ though they are *not* bound to believe that they are to be found there by the private Christian, except in proportion to his progress in holiness, and his patient study of Holy Scripture under the Church’s teaching. It is much to be regretted that this writer is not better acquainted with the works of those whom he has thought right to censure so severely, or he must have known that this is their belief. On the present general subject let me refer

him to Lectures 3, 4, and 5, of Tract 85, especially p. 51; and to Mr. Froude's Essay on Rationalism, from the sixth chapter to the end. Indeed all who are really anxious to follow Scripture, should give the whole of that treatise, appealing as it does almost exclusively to Scripture proof, their most attentive consideration. The Reviewer says, that 'the Oxford theologians may believe if they please that tradition and the Church *are the divine interpreters* of Scripture; still *however inspired* they are only interpreters, and cannot be alleged as the *independent* authority for a single new doctrine, without violating the express declaration of the Articles.' (p. 278.) One can hardly wish a fairer statement of the case than this; insert only after the word doctrine, the qualification *invariably* made in our Church's formularies, 'as necessary to salvation;' and I have sincere pleasure in assuring him, that he will not find a single member of our Church differing from him; and I believe few, if any, in the foreign Churches.

On the subject of the Mass, the quotations brought forward from Cranmer and Ridley in the Edinburgh Review make it to my mind a good deal more probable, that they really mistook the doctrines held by the Church on the subject. The Catholic doctrine of the Mass or Eucharistic

Sacrifice (to speak only of points on which all Catholics agree) is, that the fruits of the One Sacrifice once made on the Cross are in a special and peculiar sense impetrated by the Church for the living and dead, through the Mystical Offering of the Eucharist. Now, to call this formally inconsistent with, or derogatory from, the doctrine of the Atonement, is simply unmeaning; as much as to speak in that way of the necessity of faith, or works, or Baptism, to salvation. When persons consider these latter as appointed instruments or means for applying to individuals the blessings purchased by our Lord's death, reasonable men, however they may differ in opinion, never speak of them as denying or tending to deny the Atonement. Of course to say that the *thought* of the Atonement is obscured in the minds of most men and practically put out of sight by a certain line of teaching, is quite another thing; but in such passages as the following, Cranmer and Ridley seem speaking of *doctrine*: Cranmer. 'The papistical priests have taken on them *to be Christ's successors*, and to make *such an oblation and sacrifice as never creature made but Christ alone.*' 'If *only* the death of Christ be the oblation sacrifice and price *wherefore our sins are pardoned*, then the act or ministration of the priest cannot have *the same office.*' (p. 280.) Ridley. 'To speak of this oblation, *how much it is injurious unto Christ's passion,*

‘ how it cannot, but with high blasphemy and ‘ intolerable pride be claimed of any man,’ &c. It is common charity to these prelates to suppose that they did not rightly understand what the doctrine was against which they felt themselves at liberty to use such unbridled language. Nor is this misconception so unnatural as at first sight may appear. Not only would the popular belief of such miracles as those mentioned in the Tract, pp. 48, 9. make the multitude of men naturally prone to consider it a repetition of the One Sacrifice, but the not uncommon language of theologians, speaking of it as one and the same with the Sacrifice on Calvary, might tend to encourage a similar idea among the ruder sort, or at all events might give Protestants wrong notions of what the real doctrine was. The decree of Trent itself, ‘ Una eademque est ‘ hostia, idem nunc offerens sacerdotum ministerio ‘ qui seipsum tunc in cruce obtulit, *solá offerendi ‘ ratione diversá,*’ might be easily misunderstood but for the words immediately following, ‘ Cujus ‘ quidem oblationis *cruentæ inquam, fructus per hanc ‘ incruentam uberrime percipiuntur.*’ The Reviewer adds that Cranmer, ‘ as if foreseeing Mr. Newman’s ‘ quibble, says, ‘ the Papists to excuse themselves, ‘ &c.’ May I be allowed to make rather a longer extract, which begins with the passage quoted in the Review. ‘ The Papists to excuse themselves ‘ do say, that they make *no new sacrifice nor none ‘ other sacrifice than Christ made.* And here

‘ they run into the foulest and most heinous error
 ‘ that ever was imagined. For if they make every
 ‘ day the same oblation and sacrifice for sin that
 ‘ Christ made, . . . then followeth it of necessity,
 ‘ that they every day *slay Christ and shed His blood,*
 ‘ and so be they *worse than the wicked Jews and*
 ‘ *Pharisees,* which slew Him and shed His blood
 ‘ *but once.* Almighty God banish all such
 ‘ darkness and error out of His Church, &c.”’ So
 writes the ‘ Father of the English Reformation :’
 whatever other feelings may rise in the mind of the
 religious reader on perusing the passage, this is
 plain that he altogether misunderstood the sacred
 doctrine he opposed, and was even in his own
 despite, in this instance at least, preserved from any
 direct ‘ fighting against God.’

As to the Article itself, having for its title, ‘ Of
 ‘ the one oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross,’
 and for its direct matter a full and most orthodox
 statement of that fundamental doctrine, I cannot
 conceive an unprejudiced person to imagine the
 latter clause, appended by a ‘ wherefore,’ to be
 aimed at any practice or opinion not militating in
 any way against that doctrine. After what has
 been said, most persons will perhaps be satisfied
 that the mistake as to matter of fact (what *was* the
 Ancient doctrine of the Mass) is the true solution ;
 but if otherwise, let them remember the amount of
 practical corruption then existing ; how that vast

“ Jenkyns’s Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 453.

and majestic symbolical system which still survived had come in so great measure to take men's thoughts *from* God instead of leading *to* Him ; and that as in other parts so also in this, the Mass seems *of itself to* have engrossed the people's thoughts and affections, instead of fixing them more firmly on that One Atonement, of which this unbloody sacrifice was at once the commemoration and application. The condemnation then of this practical corruption would be not an unnatural conclusion of the first part of the Article. But whichever view be adopted, this or the former, one thing at least cannot be imagined with any shew of reason, that the doctrine of the Mass, as I just now drew it out, was even hinted at in it.

The Reviewer is severe upon the explanation of the twenty-fifth Article. He says, with perfect truth, that " by sacrament, Mr. Newman means " a rite whereby a great and peculiar spiritual " blessing is attached to one fixed outward form, " and that Mr. N. asserts for the Church the " power to select this form and endow it with " this grace." " He reduces," the Reviewer says, " the difference between them (the ' five com- " monly called sacraments,' and the ' Sacraments " of the Gospel,') to the mere *absence of a direct " divine appointment.* Had our Reformers " been of this opinion, they could not have framed " the Article in its present form. They could not

“ have said that they had not ‘ like nature of “ Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord’s Supper.’ ” (p. 283.) How strange that he should forget that the very words which immediately follow, the very reason which the Article gives *why* they have not “ like nature,” is, “ *for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.* ” Many persons, perhaps, will see in this Article a remarkable instance of the desire of *appearing* as far from Rome as possible; the definition of “ sacrament ” seems almost changed on *purpose* to exclude the other five.

The 13th Article is perhaps the most difficult of all to reconcile with Gospel Truth. I do not feel myself called upon at present to enter into the subject; comparatively little, so far as I am aware, having been written against the view of it maintained in the Tract. To discuss it fully would require considerable knowledge of the Reformation theology, especially Melancthon’s, from whom our Articles are so much taken, and a careful comparison with the wording of the 10th, 11th, and 12th Articles, especially the first-named; not to mention on the other hand the Service for Baptism, and other parts of the Prayer-book. At present I shall merely notice the objections raised in the two publications which all along I have been considering. The pamphlet says, (p. 19.) ‘ if (works)

‘are before justification, they are before faith, Article ‘xi.’ i. e. that the 11th Article *decides* that justification follows on faith *immediately*. Surely that Article must be much strained to discover such a decision in its wording. The Office for “Baptism “of such as are of riper years,” (which, however, was added at a later period, but the writer of the pamphlet disclaims any consideration of the “imponens,”) is altogether inconsistent with such a notion. Those adults who come for Baptism come, if they are to benefit by it, in *faith*, as all must allow: yet for such persons the people pray, “we call upon thee for these “persons, that they *coming to thy holy baptism* “may receive *remission of their sins* by spiritual “regeneration:” now “remission of sins” is, we know, “justification,” and the prayer is therefore, that those who *have* faith may be *justified* by *Baptism*. On the other hand, the Reviewer, (p. 282.) also pressing the eleventh Article violently into his service, says, in arguing against Baptismal justification, “it is hard to see . . . how “the faith required by the Article can exist “in an infant;” thus wishing to shew that our Church denies justification to be given before explicit faith exists. Yet the Service for Baptism of infants (and this existed before the Convocation, and remained untouched by it) is altogether inconsistent with such a view. Is justification forgiveness and reception into God’s favour? the

people pray for the infant, "that he, *coming to thy holy baptism*, may receive *remission of sins* by "spiritual regeneration." The congregation are told, "Doubt ye not, but earnestly believe that "He will . . . favourably receive this present "infant:" *after* Baptism, God is thanked "that "it hath pleased Him to receive this infant for "His own child by adoption." Is *Christian* justification an infused quality of righteousness? the people pray God *before* Baptism, "that He will "*wash and sanctify* this child *with the Holy Ghost*," and after Baptism thank Him "that it hath pleased "Him to *regenerate* this infant *with His Holy "Spirit*." Indeed the more attentively we consider the whole Baptismal Service, the more secure a protection we shall find it against any attempt at proving our Church *committed* to the notion, which it cannot be denied the *primâ facie* view of some of the Articles *seems* to encourage, that *explicit knowledge* of Christian truths, or *explicit faith* in our Blessed Lord, is the *essential* difference between those who are and those who are not Christians: a view which, as it of course dispenses with the peculiar office of the Church, so also *tends* singularly to obscure the recognition of the influences of the Holy Spirit, and leads to a carnal and rationalistic tone on all religious subjects. And the Articles, being the later document of the two, can never have been intended by those who enacted them, to contradict any doctrine clearly put

forth in that prayer book, which they themselves retained and used.

IV.

But after all that has been said, the difficulty is still far from unlikely to suggest itself to a scrupulous mind, 'if there is at all events necessity for such laboured and difficult explanations, if there is at first sight so much plausibility in the representations of those who consider this whole scheme of interpretation as dishonest and unfair, is it not at least the *safest* side to abstain from subscription? ought any regard to comfort, ought even the feeling that the ministry of the Church is the situation in which I can best serve God, ought this to induce me to an action whose morality is even *doubtful*?' Now it is important for such persons, and also for others, carefully to observe, that the present is not a question between duty and *interest*, but between *duty* and *duty*. To acknowledge that even any particular Church has authoritatively come to an erroneous decision, would be distressing to the feelings of any of her attached members; and it would be one of his plainest duties *not to admit* such a position until there was plainly no fair escape from it; and the Articles, though not *terms of communion*, are certainly our Church's authoritative teaching°. But

° I mean, they are our Church's authoritative *statements of doctrine*, not merely 'authoritative teaching' in a sense which

this is far indeed from being the whole account of the case; the Articles, which are principally in question, concern not this or that less material particular, but a whole range of the most important truths. For instance, supposing we were once to admit that the Protestant doctrine of justification had received the formal sanction of our Church, who can estimate the serious consequences which must follow in the judgment of all those (and they are not few) who consider that doctrine heretical and anti-Christian? or to take the Articles which have been more triumphantly claimed against us than any other; let us allow ourselves to imagine for one moment it were *granted*, that our Church had condemned the doc-

Mr. Newman gives it in his Letter to Dr. Jelf. *In that sense* we must humbly make the avowal, as he does in that Letter, that our Church's authoritative teaching has been unhappily corrupt, as well as the Roman Church's: but in the text I mean, not the 'teaching of those in authority,' but 'the teaching which *our Church has authorized and enjoined*:' and to acknowledge certain error in that would be a sad conclusion indeed to arrive at. At the same time, on some subjects, it would be far less grievous than on others. Were we persuaded, e. g. that the Articles rule Invocation of Saints to be *in itself* a fond thing, &c. or again, certain points of discipline in other Churches to be unjustifiable or inexpedient, (Articles 22, 24, 30,) and were any one further to come to a conviction that on these points he was unable to acquiesce, he might give up his position in the Ministry or in the University, and retire into lay-communion: yet *comparatively* no very serious evil need result.

trine of the Mass, as drawn out in p. 63, and of the infallibility of *some* General Councils, what must follow? To suffer our minds to dwell coolly and in detail on so miserable and shocking an hypothesis, would be hardly pious to that Mother who has, as we thankfully believe, been saved from such a step. But considering the difficulties which even now no small number of her children find in recognizing our Lord's mark upon her as really a living branch of His Church, what must be the result, if they were left to consider it as an acknowledged fact, that by abandoning Catholic Truth on those points, she had passed a formal condemnation on the *Sacerdotal* and *Prophetical* Offices of the Church, as (so far at least as her own principles can be compromised by the conduct of her governors in times past) she has in her own case at least betrayed the *Regal*? is not then every tie of pious affection which binds us to her communion, every feeling of sympathy and reverence which links us with Andrews, or Hammond, or Ken, every *difficulty any one of us may feel in the supposition that the Roman Churches make up the Universal Church*, every emotion of gratitude to God for the remarkable traces of His Providence in our present condition, for the singular deliverances He has worked out for the English Church amidst the sins of her members, and the perils which have encompassed her, are not all these united in calling upon us with a voice not to be mistaken,

to look well that we ‘curse not her whom God hath not cursed;’ that we exhaust every means of defence *honestly practicable* before we give up that Church in which our lot has been cast as guilty of such miserable apostacy? And let such persons further consider, whether the way in which more perhaps than in any other God visits for past sins, whether of our own or of those whose representatives we are, be not painful perplexities of conscience, and the *necessity* of adopting *either way* some line of conduct, which in particular frames of mind will subject us to misgivings and uneasiness. When we are visited with such vexatious thoughts, let us, while in rectitude and simplicity of heart we look up to God, make use of them as calls to humiliation for the sins which have occasioned them: ‘we are mysteriously bound up with our forefathers, and bear their sin.’ Far from us be that state of mind which would look upon the excesses of the 16th century as themes for angry declamation, or contemptuous comparisons: in a certain and very true sense they are our *own sins*, and call on *us* for bitter sorrow and repentance; it was in those sins that our present condition as a Church on the whole had its rise. Let us avail ourselves of that most thoughtful and considerate hint in the Tract, which would lead all those, who are united in the feeling of humility and contrition for the mode in which the English Reformation was carried out, to take the 30th of

January in each year^p as a time for giving vent in union to that feeling in acts of sorrow and deprecation ; and prayers that both we and other Churches may have the grace of repentance in order to the privilege of reunion. Such use of that day, in addition to the thoughts more immediately connected with the event which it commemorates, had this especial propriety, that King Charles's death may not unnaturally be considered as the retribution on the royal office of the sins the royal office had committed.

It remains to allude without methodical arrangement to one or two different objections which whether in print or in other ways have come to my notice.

1. The pamphlet (p. 16.) makes objection to the argument of the Tract drawn from the declaration prefixed to the Articles in the time of Charles the First. Of course this argument is not in point as to either of the considerations which have been urged in this pamphlet ; as not bearing either on the *original intention* of those who sanctioned the Articles, or on their *wording* as being the development of that Spirit who resides in the Church ; but as the object of the Tract would

^p Of course I am not deciding the question whether what are called ' the state holidays ' have the sanction of our Church.

be to mention the grounds which might induce men of *whatever* opinions on minor points to acquiesce in its view of our Articles, it was much better not to omit it. It has been commented on in a recent 'Letter' I have once before alluded to as follows: 'If there be no reason to the contrary, the natural meaning of the words, as at first drawn up, may be taken without hesitation as the meaning . . . still our obligation so to take them arises from our relation to the imposers, not the compilers. . . . Thus whatever might be the meaning of the divines of King Edward who compiled or of those of Queen Elizabeth who revised our Articles, as to Predestination and Election and other kindred tenets, *it was in the prerogative of the Church governors in King Charles the First's time to declare, that those Articles should not be interpreted by the rules of any modern school, but by the literal and grammatical signification of the words.*' This declaration has the force of a precedent in favour of neglecting the opinions of the framers, and even of the original Convocation; so that those who may not think with Mr. Newman that the Articles were never *intended* to exclude certain opinions, will still have this point to consider, before they decide that they *do* exclude them. However the words 'no *new* sense,' considering they were put out by Laud, shew very clearly that at that time, on *many* at least and those important matters, the Catholic

interpretation was not 'new' but recognised and established.

2. 'The Articles are principally drawn from 'the writings of Melancthon,' 'the Catholic Reformer.' 'What inference,' asks the writer of the pamphlet, 'am I to draw from this? . . . all that we can infer is that the Articles are Protestant extracts from an author, from whose works Catholic extracts *might have been made and were not made.*' (p. 17.) I think we can infer something very different; viz. that so far as the Articles were taken from his writings, they were known to be patient (to say the least) of a Catholic sense, *since that would be the sense in which he himself wrote the words.* On the question of justification the point is of extreme importance; it is one of the most striking instances in which he embraced Protestant phraseology, yet in a sense consistent with the Ancient Faith. Take the much controverted eleventh Article, 'When Melancthon and his school speak of *faith only* justifying they say that it is an emblem or image of the *free grace* of our Redemption. To say we are justified by faith only was in that reformer's mouth a lively mode of speech (he calls it figurative) for saying that we are justified neither by faith nor by works only, but by God^a.' Of course I am not proving that these are Melancthon's sentiments, it has not been denied that I know of;

^a Newman on Justification, (2d ed.) p. 277.

but shewing that *if* they are, if it was his habit to adopt Protestant phrases and give them an innocent sense, and *if* the Articles are taken from his writings rather than those of the other reformers, a strong additional ground exists for supposing that they were not intended to exclude this innocent sense.

3. To revert to the ‘animus imponentis,’ the question has been raised who is the ‘imponens’ when members of the University *as such* subscribe the Articles. I conceive the legislative body of the University to be rightly so regarded; at the same time of course that assembly would be understood to wish the Articles signed in the Church’s sense, *whatever that sense might be*, unless otherwise specified; which it never has been. But on the supposition of Convocation pronouncing an authoritative declaration of the sense in which it requires subscription, it certainly appears that in that case, those members who could not sign the Articles in such sense, would be bound either to quit the University, or at least to issue such a public declaration of the interpretation on which they *do* subscribe, as to give Convocation the power of proceeding against them if it thought right.

4. Mr. Newman, in the Postscript to his Letter to Dr. Jelf, gave as one reason for the excitement caused by the Tract, that ‘it had been written for ‘one class of persons and commented on by ‘another:’ and I understand that not a few have

looked on this as a plain confession of dishonesty : ‘ habes confitentem reum.’ Certainly they must consider it a remarkably *honest* confession of dishonesty. Yet surely many reasons are not far to seek, why observations, addressed in the most upright spirit to one class of persons, would be misunderstood and excite a clamour if read by another. Are persons usually suspected of dishonesty who are unwilling that their private letters shall be read by other than those to whom they are addressed? when they are altogether on *public* topics, would they be generally quite pleased if they were to appear in print? or would unwillingness that they should so appear, be construed by any sane person as a proof that they were written *disingenuously*? Of course the present case is not so strong, yet it is altogether analogous. However, out of the large number of reasons which will readily suggest themselves to many persons, it may be as well to mention one or two, why the Tract may have been on the one hand perfectly honest, and yet on the other not so fit for *general* and *indiscriminate* perusal, as for the perusal of those for whom it was intended.

I. There is a quiet assumption all through of certain views being ‘ Catholic’ and true, &c. and a certain tone adopted, difficult exactly to describe, but which not unnaturally appears to those of an opposite way of thinking contemptuous or sarcastic. Again, phrases are used, as above men-

tioned, implying that certain doctrines are *the* doctrines of the Church of England, which seem to have given great offence to some persons; and yet are perfectly 'in order' in a publication addressed to those who agree with the author in *principle*.

II. Again, all through the Tract considerable knowledge is implied in the reader of the previous Tracts and of other publications of their authors. The consequence is, that a large number of persons take it up *quite unprepared*; they find the *conclusions* stated in a naked way, while they have themselves no acquaintance with the *premises*, nor yet (which is sometimes of much more importance) with the practical line of thought and feeling connected in the minds of many with these doctrines. So that they are tempted to consider the Tract a wanton exercise of ingenuity, instead of, as it is, a most important step towards claiming for all members of the Church of England a full right to that *substratum* of Catholic doctrine on which Catholic feeling and practice may be reared up.

III. Many persons are very painfully affected when things are said in favour of the Roman Churches, without protests being also expressed against their corruptions. Now, on the other hand, several persons who fully believe in the existence of those corruptions, dislike this habit of always mentioning them; and this for three reasons: first, it seems ungracious in a Church so faulty as our

own to be continually 'throwing stones' at our neighbours, and seems almost to imply (though Mr. Newman no where does imply it) that we consider our own Church purer. 2. It tends to make persons forget the true character and claims of the Roman Church, as being a true Church "built upon the foundations of the Apostles and "Prophets," as having held up for imitation certainly more than any other Church of modern times patterns of evangelical sanctity, and having been even in her worst times, on most points, a firm and consistent witness in act and word for orthodox doctrine, whom in that respect it rather becomes us to imitate than to criticise. 3. It tends to make persons forget, what it is so important that they should remember, our own practical corruptions. Surely the faults of others concern us not so nearly as our own; and national Churches, not less than individuals, bear the surest mark of their own condemnation when they are loud in self-praise. Might not Rev. iii. 17, 18. afford at times a useful lesson to many of us English Churchmen? These then are reasons which naturally indispose persons who feel their force, to yield very readily to the popular wish of never saying a word in praise of foreign Churches, without being profuse in explanations and qualifications. And Mr. Newman, writing as he supposed for persons of the same principles with himself, knew on the one hand that they were well aware

of his feelings on the corruptions in the Roman system, and on the other, that they shared with him a strong dislike to be always “ harping ” upon them. But when, by the sensation which the Tract caused, the author was reluctantly compelled (in his Letter to Dr. Jelf) to draw out again what he did feel about these abuses, curiously enough, many persons it appears considered that Letter a *retractation*. It is come to this, that to speak of a sister Church, without adverting to her faults, is to believe her faultless. Is this to be our rule in speaking of our “ brethren after the *flesh* ? ”

¶ It is a curious proof how much of Protestant feeling still unconsciously remains in those who have *formally* renounced it, that the first impression, perhaps, of most of us would be to think it *inconsistent with the position* of a member of our Church, to think other Churches more pure and apostolical. Yet so long as our own is believed really to *be* a Church, it is plain that any amount of superiority we may believe other Churches to possess over the English, is as irrelevant to our position *in* the English, as every one would see it to be in the parallel case of a person being called to task as follows, “ how can you profess to *be* the son of “ your own mother, because you have come to think another lady “ more religious ? ” Indeed, to pursue the parallel, what sane person would accuse another of want of *affection* for his mother, though he gave her all his care and attention, because he should not be in the habit of a boastful comparison of her with all other mothers ? Or again, which would be thought the more *patriotic*, he who should content himself with triumphantly enlarging on his country’s excellence *as it is*, or who should be anxiously and affectionately endeavouring to observe what points of superiority other countries might possess, in order, if it might be, to elevate

IV. Another cause, and the last I shall mention, Mr. Newman stated himself in his Letter to the Bishop of Oxford. He drew up in some cases the premises without stating his conclusion; and the result has been, that others have been pained and perplexed by the apparent ambiguity of the (first edition of the) Tract: it appeared as though he were trying in some indirect way to entrap his

his own to their standard? *Love* to our Church surely shews itself in making *her* the *immediate* sphere and *direct* object of our tender care; it *may* be only love for *ourselves* which would make us acquiesce in her present position, as honourable or even seemly. Is it *fair* indeed to our Church, is it to tend her with the loving reverence to which we are bound, if we do not keep our eye watchfully fixed on her weak points, in order to incite those who may have the power to the task of strengthening and building her up? But those who think the spirit which has so actively prevailed within her for the last 300 years, to be full of evil, may, to say the least, have as real attachment to her as those who think it full of good.

Having alluded to Mr. Newman's Letter to Dr. Jelf, it may be as well to point out (what is indeed obvious), that to vindicate his interpretation of the twenty-second Article, there is no necessity whatever of believing the *existing* Roman Church practically corrupt at all. Mr. N. *does* believe it to be sadly corrupt in practice; but it is not even necessary, when we come to think of it, to believe the *then* Roman Church to have been so; it is quite sufficient to see that the Homilies *spoke* very strongly of certain corruptions existing, and that those were plainly the "doctrina Romanensium" condemned. A person might believe the *fact* misrepresented to any extent, and subscribe the Article: what the Article *means* to condemn, the supposed subscriber *does* condemn, as "a fond thing, &c."

readers. His real reason for this he thus expresses ; ‘ I was unwilling to commit the view of ‘ the Articles which I was taking, to any precise ‘ statement of the ultimate approaches towards the ‘ Roman system allowed by our own. To say *how* ‘ *far* a person may go, is almost tempting him to go ‘ up to the boundary line.’ (p. 18.) The proceeding then on his part was another instance of what all, who have been helped by his writings in advancing towards the Truth, must have so frequently observed, his watchful and (if we may use the word) tender considerateness in all his statements for persons of whatever state of progress and whatever shade in opinion : his anxiety that the most forward may have food for their spiritual cravings, the most backward be neither on the one hand painfully perplexed and scandalized, nor on the other tempted to unreal and premature developement. Speaking only of what we see and understand, it is very plain how much the cause we all love must suffer, if among us who are in the lower ranks, who are but receiving what others teach, any make a party question of religious truth, or allow ourselves in a hasty assumption of certain opinions and practices, which are most graceful and edifying in the saint, but which in us would be but, in another shape, profane and irreverent mockery of the most sacred things. But how much more serious is this consideration, when we reflect on the degree

in which according to the invisible working of God's providence the advance of truth depends on the sober and consistent conduct of its advocates!

Thus, e. g. in proportion as we realize the Catholic doctrine of the sad stain marked on the soul by post-baptismal sin, and the remedial as well as cleansing efficacy of suffering, we shall be led to the thought of a purification through pain (whether at the moment of death, indefinitely prolonged as regards our own consciousness, or in the intermediate state, or at the Day of Judgment,) as a possible solution of many difficulties and perplexities, nay in the case of many persons as a necessary result of that doctrine. Again, in proportion as minds *of a certain character* realize the Communion of Saints, and advance in the spiritual life, they will be drawn to the practice of Invocation. In either of these cases, according to Mr. Newman's original design, when these feelings came as natural and free developements in their own minds of Catholic truth, then and not till then such persons would consult the Tract to find whether or no upon its shewing the practice or doctrine in question be condemned by our Church. Through the course which Mr. N. has now been obliged to take, the 'ora pro nobis,' e. g. may have been brought before persons who would otherwise have never thought of it, and who may take it up from the mere affectation of

singularity, or what may be called a restless love of newly seen and partially apprehended truth. Of so much importance was it *for those he thought himself addressing*, that a cautious reserve of language should be adopted, which *other persons* not understanding have put down to the score of some deep design.

V. I received a strong remonstrance from a private quarter against my last publication, on the ground of its running counter to the judgment of the Bishop of the diocese; and since what one person has said many may have felt, and since it has been stated in print that the Bishop has condemned the doctrine of the Tract, it may be as well to say a very few words on the subject. Nothing surely can be more *pointedly* irrespective of the *doctrine* of the Tract than the Bishop's sentence. It is 'objectionable, and may tend to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the Church.' It might do the latter either from being 'objectionable' in the time of its appearance, or in the manner in which it advocated its point, as being indirect, or satirical, or ambiguous and incomplete in its statements; if the former were the reason, at all events the time is no longer in the choice of any one of us, and the controversy must proceed; if the latter, it is even cooperating with his Lordship's judgment to throw the same positions, so far as may be, into another shape; and I have anxiously endeavoured, with regard both to this and my former publication, that

they may be neither indirect, satirical, nor ambiguous.

In conclusion, I must express my sincere regret that the authors of the publications, which I have kept so constantly in view, should have felt it their duty to express such strong imputations on the honesty, whether of the writer of the Tract, or its supporters. For the sake of those who may not have seen them, two quotations shall follow fully bearing out this statement.

‘ If his (Mr. Newman’s) object has been to
 ‘ shew how an ingenious and subtle advocate
 ‘ may put any meaning he pleases upon words ;
 ‘ if he has wished to display how cleverly he
 ‘ could play the part of a pleader, who cares
 ‘ not what quibbles he utters, what perversions
 ‘ of language he offers to a jury, so that he
 ‘ but gets his client off, he must be owned to
 ‘ have been successful: but is this mode of
 ‘ proceeding to be made the standard of truth in
 ‘ the gravest matters of life? is there an English
 ‘ gentleman who would not think it a grievous
 ‘ calumny to have it said of him, that he kept
 ‘ his promises by this rule? Are all the most
 ‘ solemn obligations in life to be entered into with
 ‘ the understanding that *any* observance of them,
 ‘ which the subtlety and dexterity of a special

‘pleader can adjust to the letter, shall be deemed an honourable and satisfactory fulfilment? Words have no longer any fixed meaning, good faith and truth are just as any man may fashion them, if the ‘priestly glossing’ of this Tract does not meet with indignant reprobation.’ Review, p. 287.

‘Adopt his (Mr. Newman’s) interpretation, if you can believe it to be the literal one, *that* will only degrade your understanding and confuse your ideas; but shun his *principles* like a pestilence, when he would induce you to dethrone conscience from her tribunal, and set himself strong in all the soul-destroying arts of verbal subtlety and mental reservation in her place.’ Pamphlet, p. 22, 23.

Whether on the whole in theological controversy, such opinions, when entertained, ought to be expressed, is perhaps not quite clear: much certainly may be said on both sides. But in the present instance, the complaint I make is, that in the case of a writer, who, as all must admit, has an *à priori* claim to be believed sincere, whom the Reviewer appears to consider distinguished by ‘austerities, boundless charities, and burning zeal,’ (p. 291,) any person shall have felt himself at liberty to come so very decidedly to an opposite conclusion, except most unwillingly and after a careful consideration of the whole point at issue, as illustrated from Mr. Newman’s former writ-

ings no less than by the present⁴. Certainly it is very dull to read long works with which we agree not at all; but then surely there is no *necessity* for casting these imputations; and I am only wishing that *before* persons cast imputations, they should read such works. Perhaps from what has been said in the course of these pages, it will appear that both these writers are in many points under considerable misapprehension of the facts of the case; and in the case of the Reviewer, at least, the list of such misapprehensions might be considerably augmented, but that I have confined my observations to points immediately connected with the Tract. One more however I will adduce both as being another instance of (what I must call) the hasty and random manner in which he throws about imputations, and also as being a practical

⁴ A Letter privately circulated, which I happened to see, and which is as unfavourable to the Tract itself as either of these writers, attributes the dishonest *tendency* which it ascribes to the Tract, to Mr. Newman's over-subtlety of mind, in consequence of which the distinction between legitimate analysis and unfair splitting of words is not so readily perceived by him as by others. What I am anxious to point out is, that in this case the author feels he has no right to attribute dishonest *motives* against such evidence of sincerity as exists in Mr. Newman's case. And, though one differs of course *toto calo* in opinion from him on the subject of No. 90, one has no ground of complaint whatever against the writer who puts forth such a view: it is a fair legitimate ground for an opponent to assume.

matter of considerable importance. He speaks (p. 290.) of ‘the Presbyterians, whom Mr. Newman’s school *look upon as so vile.*’ In Tract 47, Mr. Newman speaks as follows; ‘Do not think of me as of one who makes theories for himself in his closet, who governs himself by book-maxims, and who, as being secluded from the world, has no temptation to let his sympathies for individuals rise against his abstract positions, and can afford to be hard-hearted and *condemn by wholesale* the multitudes in various sects and parties whom he never saw. I have known those among Presbyterians, whose piety, resignation, cheerfulness, and affection, under trying circumstances, have been such as to make me say to myself on the thoughts of my own higher privileges, ‘Woe unto thee Chorazin, woe unto thee Bethsaida;’ and so the Tract proceeds with observations which I heartily wish the Reviewer would read. In his ‘Prophetical Office of the Church,’ he speaks of Dr. Chalmers as ‘a Divine of the sister Establishment, who is never to be mentioned without respect and sympathy.’ (p. 119.) In his Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, he says, ‘If the Established Church of Scotland has this note (sanctity), I will hope all good things of it.’ (p. 45.) Is it necessary to quote more, or is it not obvious on how comparatively small an acquaintance with Mr. Newman’s writings

the Author of this Review has founded censures so severe ?

No! those who hold strong opinions on the subject of our Church's present corruption and degradation; whatever pain they may inflict on others in making such avowal, whatever pain they may receive themselves from the din of praise surrounding her, in which the words ' pure and Apostolical' sound forth most clearly and distinctly on the ear, at least enjoy this great comfort more than others are able to enjoy, their love and sympathy for ' those who are without.' In proportion as we lament the state of things within, in proportion as we humbly confess that the mark of being Christ's Kingdom, which can never be wholly effaced from any portion of it, is obscured and but faintly traced on the English Church, in that proportion we are able to make the fuller allowance for those who have failed to discern it. When apparent sanctity exists without the Church, or within it among those who have lost its spirit, two solutions are possible for the Churchman ; that the sanctity is *but* apparent, or that the Church is far from what she ought to be. May we, in cases when such holiness shews itself not in words but in a steady and self-denying course of action, have grace always to choose the latter alternative ; may we consider the fruits of grace which exist so abundantly among Protestants as a rebuke to ourselves

for having as yet so inadequately brought out the image of what is *truly* evangelical; may we Catholics of the English Church throw ourselves in a loving spirit upon the thought of unworldliness, purity, self-denial, from whatever quarter they are presented. In no other way shall we be able to build up our own Church into a form truly *Catholic*, (appealing, that is, to the *whole* nature of persons of all variety of taste and disposition,) strictly watching the truth, yet anxiously preserving charity; and by which, having absorbed into herself all that are truly God's servants among *ourselves*, she may well hope that her influence will re-act for good on those sisters in other lands from whom she has been so long and so fatally dissevered; and thus, when she has been, by a natural attraction and as it were spontaneously, restored to active communion with the rest of Christendom, once more, if God permit, the united Catholic Church will go forth in a spirit of steady aggression against the world.

THE END.



APPENDIX

TO A

FEW MORE WORDS

IN SUPPORT OF No. 90

OF THE

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES,

IN ANSWER TO

MR. LOWE'S PAMPHLET.

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM GEORGE WARD, M. A.

FELLOW OF BALLIOL COLLEGE.

OXFORD,

JOHN HENRY PARKER ;

J. G. F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.

1841.

APPENDIX.

MR. LOWE has announced himself as the Author of the pamphlet which I have criticised in the preceding pages, and has written another in reply to mine. In saying a very few words by way of answer, I have the less temptation to allude in detail to his charges against myself personally, because I cannot think they will ultimately do me any injury. Whatever may be thought of the obscurity of my style or the weakness of my reasonings, I am well persuaded, that when the heat of controversy is over, my pamphlet will not be considered by any one to be in the common sense of the word *dishonest*: it will I am sure be acknowledged, that I have stated openly what I wished to prove, and the reasons which appeared to me to prove it. As to the view I have taken, Mr. Lowe certainly strikes me as having misunderstood in many instances the posi-

tion I have maintained, and all that I propose is to mention some of the cases in which he has misunderstood it. At the same time I trust it will not appear arrogant to express a conviction, that those who will give themselves the trouble of fairly throwing their minds on the arguments I have brought together, will not find any thing in Mr. Lowe's pamphlet that interferes with their cogency.

The point on which the present controversy^a turns will, perhaps, be acknowledged to be this: "are we to look at the Articles as 'of the nature of a *creed*, intended to *teach* doctrine, or of the nature of a *joint declaration intended* to be vague, and to include persons of discordant sentiments.'" (Few More Words, p. 40.) If the former, I for one plainly acknowledge they do *not* teach Catholicism; if the other, the argument in Mr. Lowe's first pamphlet falls to the ground; if the former, the right way to ascertain their meaning, *were it a possible task*, would be the one so ably advocated in that pamphlet, to interpret them by themselves, and each individual Article by the spirit of the whole; if the latter, the right way to ascertain their meaning will be that adopted by the Tract, to take

^a Dr. Pusey's Pamphlet, however, while it advocates *the very same interpretation* of the Articles in dispute, even considers the Reformers themselves sound in doctrine; and persons who follow his guidance will be still more at issue with Mr. Lowe: hence, however, what follows is not necessary for them.

them clause by clause, and accurately analyse how much their wording really does determine. If they are intended to teach doctrine, we discover their meaning by discovering *what* they teach; but if to include great varieties of opinion, we discover their meaning by discovering *how much* their wording will include.

This question then, being the very pith of the matter, must not be *begged*; yet Mr. Lowe in his new pamphlet seems to me again to beg it. How are we to arrive at its solution? There seem of course two modes, the external or historical, and internal: upon the former I said comparatively little, leaving it to more competent persons; and I am glad to be able to say that the task of investigation is in progress: upon the other I laid my own stress, "the internal evidence arising from the known public documents of the period," especially of course the Articles themselves. So far from intending to exclude the latter, I have no hesitation in saying that their phraseology is the argument which of all others carries the fullest satisfaction to my own mind. That opinion of mine which Mr. Lowe most of all objects to, and which certainly seems to me the most important of all, I expressly found on "Peculiarities in the phraseology of the Articles," (p. 43.): nor should I have thought it necessary to mention the other collateral grounds, except for the many causes which prevent English Churchmen from doing (what appears to me) jus-

tice to the wording of the Articles themselves. As it is, I have been blamed in several quarters for not dwelling more on *external* evidence; and without such, persons are naturally afraid to trust themselves to their own theorizing on the text.

It would be invidious and is not necessary to enter upon the causes which (as I think) cloud the perception of members of the English Church generally, and inclusively of several for whom we feel deep veneration, as to the composition and (if I may use the expression) ethical character of the Articles considered as a human composition. In proportion as such causes cease, I shall not fear to rest the whole of my case on a comparison between the manner in which the first five Articles are drawn up, and the rest. The first five relate to points of Catholic Faith, in which the then Church occupied herself merely in handing down what she had received; the remainder (to speak generally) to questions then in controversy: and the consideration to which I wish the attention of my brethren directed is this; are not the whole spirit and wording of the latter thirty-four, in every respect that which would be found in a document, the result of (I should say in parts disingenuous) compromise, and not that which would be found in a document intended to *teach* doctrines of whatever kind? Or let our Articles be compared with the decrees of Trent, which *were* intended to teach doctrine (true or not) to a great extent on the same

subjects; and the same conclusion will perhaps even more forcibly impress itself on the mind. Nor let it be forgotten, that almost the sole collateral evidence I have dwelt upon has been the Prayer Book, *to which we are bound equally with the Articles*, and the Homilies, *to a general agreement with whose doctrine the Articles themselves bind us*, (pp. 36, 37, 38, 48, 49, 50.) and therefore which are quite necessary elements in the consideration to which Mr. Lowe in his first pamphlet in principle^b applied himself, the determination of our Church's doctrine from *her authoritative forms*. And with regard to the Prayer Book, I yet desiderate an answer to my question, on what principle he interprets the Articles *by themselves*, that is by *the spirit of the Thirty-nine*, rather than by the spirit of *Articles and Prayer Book together*, neither of which from our subscription has less claims than the other on our belief and deference.

Thus then the question I have raised is, "what is the *meaning* of the Thirty-nine Articles" to which we subscribe, and the principal, the almost sole, instruments I have used for throwing light on their meaning, have been our Church's authoritative formulæ, including the Articles themselves. I have moreover gone over in detail the Articles in dispute, in order to shew in each case marks

^b I mean by this phrase, that the reasoning in Mr. Lowe's first pamphlet led, so far as it had force, simply to this, and that he *assumed* the Articles to be the *sole* authoritative forms.

of the spirit which had presided at their wording. Yet Mr. Lowe has accused me (p. 5.) of “*impliedly repudiating*” the position, “that every one who signs the Articles *binds himself to agree in their meaning,*” and (p. 8.) of drawing my syllogism “from considerations *wholly irrespective of the Articles themselves.*”

I said, (p. 6.) ‘If it were not intended by those who framed the Articles that certain opinions should be excluded there is no *primâ facie* case . . . what the Articles were not *meant* to exclude they do *not* exclude.’ Mr. Lowe urges (p. 10.) that ‘the disciples of Owen and Irving’ could not be ‘*intended* to be excluded by Articles drawn up nearly three centuries ago,’ and asks ‘how upon *my* principle they *are* excluded.’ Certainly I had not worded my proposition with sufficient accuracy to bear this sort of criticism, and yet it seems almost absurd to put in words a distinction which surely is sufficiently obvious. Certain opinions had existed universally in the Church for an indefinite period; great numbers held them at the time, many holding them had seats in the very Convocation which sanctioned the Articles. I *did* and *do* think, that if it were acknowledged that these opinions, so general, so well known, were not *intended* to be excluded by the Articles we now subscribe, those Articles do *not* exclude them^c.

^c In the case of purely *negative* Articles, (which however are but few,) Articles I mean which confine themselves to the con-

Mr. Lowe urges, (p. 13.) that my hypothesis, if true, condemns myself. ‘The man who avails himself of, and knowingly derives advantage from, the fraud of another, adopts it and makes it his own.’ This remark is irrelevant: what we derive advantage from is the fact that the Reformers intended to include Catholics, ‘their fraud’ (on the hypothesis which I advocate) is, that they worded them, notwithstanding such intention, in a manner *primâ facie* Protestant: from this latter we ‘derive’ no ‘advantage,’ the very contrary: we and the whole Church of England have suffered from it ever since.

Perhaps it will make more clear the manner in which I conceive the Articles to have been sanctioned, to conceive a case which must at all events be something like what really took place. Let us suppose the framers submitting to the Convocation the Twenty-first Article, in what from its drift must plainly (as I said in my first pamphlet) have been its original shape.

“ General Councils may not be gathered together
 “ without the commandment and will of Princes.
 “ And when they be gathered together, (forasmuch
 “ as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not

demnation of error, without positive statements of their own, such e. g. as the XIVth, XXIIId, and latter part of the XXXIst, Mr. Lowe himself would I suppose acknowledge *without* reservation the principle, that ‘ what was not *meant* to be condemned is *not* condemned ?

“ governed with the Spirit and Word of God,) they
 “ may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things
 “ pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained
 “ by them have neither strength nor authority, unless
 “ it may be declared that they be taken out of holy
 “ Scripture.”

Many persons would at once of course have protested against an Article which seemed to sanction an appeal from the decision of *any* General Council, and on *any* subject, to the private judgment whether of the individual or local Church. Accordingly it is taken clause by clause, ‘ General ‘ Councils may not be gathered together without ‘ the commandment and will of princes:’ this could not be denied: the principles of civil obedience and primitive practice were directly in its favour. ‘ When they be gathered together, for- ‘ asmuch as, &c. they may err and have erred, &c.’ *This* could not be denied; I have pointed out in my pamphlet, that members of both parties in the Roman Church considered General Councils *as such* fallible, and I have quoted from Gallican writers language altogether similar to this of the Article. ‘ Therefore things ordained by them have neither ‘ strength nor authority, unless it may be declared ‘ that they be taken out of holy Scripture.’ Here the opposite party interfere, and make the same protest they have already made in the VIth and XXth Articles, that it is only things *necessary to salvation* which need be contained in Scripture.

And here too as well as in those two Articles, if any clause had been originally inserted maintaining the right of the local Church^d, to judge *by its own authority* what doctrine was proveable by Scripture, the same party would enforce the *omission* of such clause.

Mr. Lowe (p. 17.) in allusion to my charge against him in p. 20, replies virtually, that I am bound to *respect* that document in its *human* side which I venerate on its *divine*^e; and censures (p. 14.) the shocking impiety of attributing to the Holy Spirit the '*gross and intentional deception* which I ascribe to 'the framers of the Articles.' It is not in place to enter more fully into explanation of a theory which it does not certainly seem to me very difficult to understand; had Mr. Lowe thought of the case of Caiaphas, who, *in the very words* which, *as he used them*, were blasphemy against our Lord Himself, was the organ of the Holy Spirit, and delivered a prophecy, he would not have committed himself to so singularly shallow an objection.

With regard to the rest of Mr. Lowe's argument in p. 14, whoever will read from p. 71, to p. 73, of my pamphlet, will be able to answer it for him-

^d The notion of *private* judgment, according to the remarkable and very candid testimony of Dr. Arnold, (Sermons on Christian Life, &c. p. 476.) did not exist at that time.

^e Mr. Lowe omits my qualifying words 'viewed by itself and 'as to its human origin,' which I put in to guard by the way against such a confusion as Mr. Lowe has made.

self. I am *not* bound as a Catholic to believe the Articles will have a Catholic sense; I am *not* bound *as a point of faith* to believe the English a branch of the Catholic Church; but I *do* believe it to be so; and I say that every argument (and they are very many) which leads to that conclusion, lead *so far* to the conclusion that she has not *committed herself* to heretical teaching. I do not consider, as Mr. Lowe (p. 18.) seems to think, that belief in the Protestant doctrine of private judgment is inconsistent with belief in the *doctrine* of the Athanasian Creed, but with a belief in that doctrine as *necessary to salvation*, which the Creed affirms it to be: and a reference to the passage in my pamphlet (p. 22.) will shew that Mr. Lowe has not attempted to answer what I there urged.

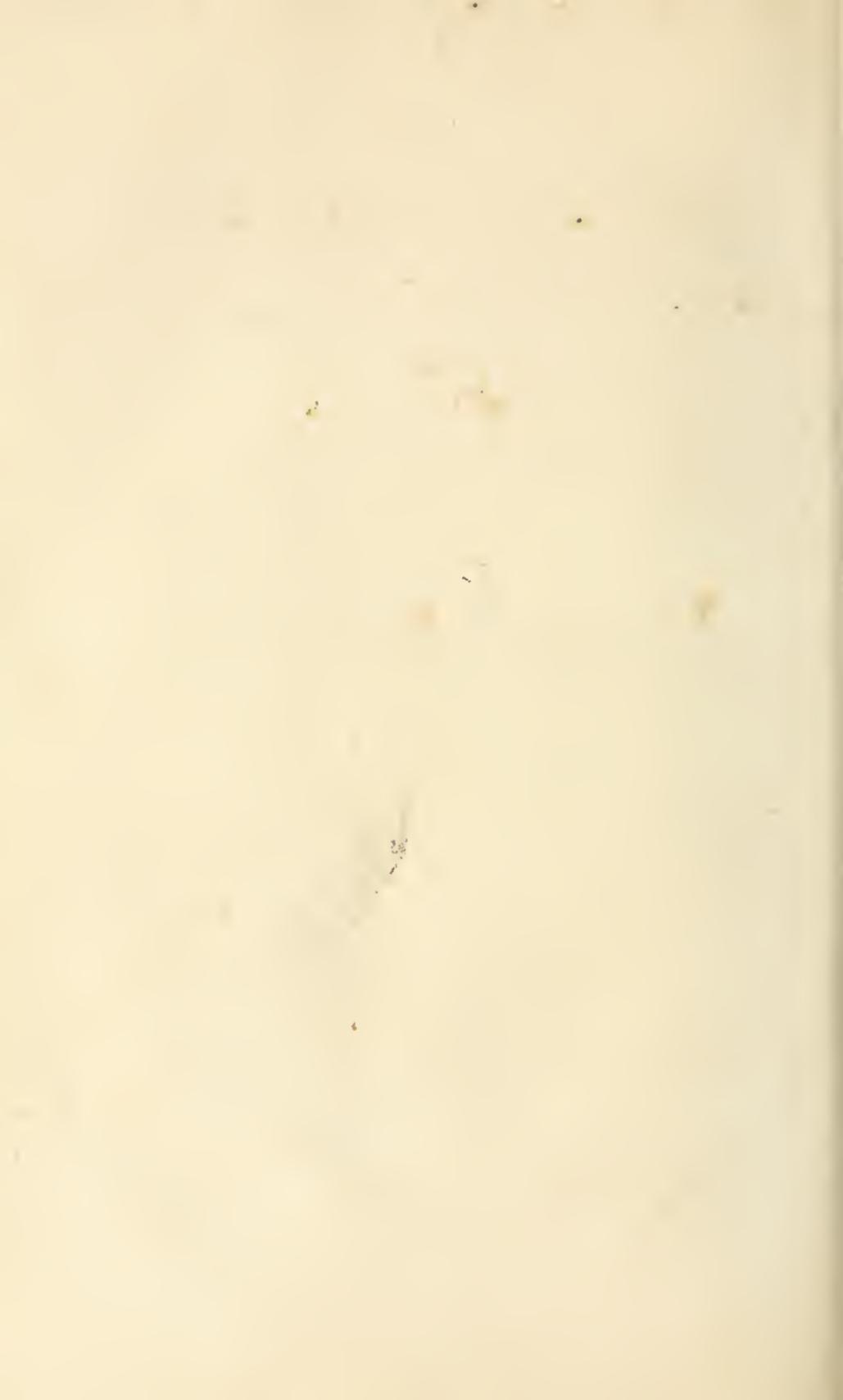
My *negative* interpretation of the Bishop's censure has been disapproved by other persons also, who consider the rest of my pamphlet open and honest. I much regret it, but cannot see grounds for their objection. On the one hand I do not represent, as Mr. Lowe thinks, (p. 24.) that his Lordship's objection was *rather* to the time and manner, than to the substance of the Tract; but that he pointedly abstained from *expressing* more definitely what his objections might be. It is I suppose considered by some that his Lordship decided *ex cathedrâ*, that such a mode of interpreting the 39 Articles was inadmissible: the result of which of course would be, that those who

held preferment in the diocese of Oxford in virtue of subscription to them in such sense, would, to say the least, be in a most painful position, unless they threw up such preferment. And I can only express my surprise that it should be supposed in any quarter, that a decision, pregnant with such extensive consequences as upon this hypothesis the Bishop's judgment would be, should have been couched in terms so vague, as that the Tract was 'objectionable,' and that it 'might tend to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the Church.'

Without giving any opinion on Mr. Lowe's pamphlet individually, I may in conclusion express my pleasure at every fresh sign of the attention of Churchmen being drawn to the careful examination of our Articles, whether as 'construed by themselves' or as illustrated by contemporary history. Whatever effects such increase of attention may have on the judgment that will be formed of the English Reformation and Reformers, of this I am well convinced, that it will only tend to place Mr. Newman's interpretation of the Articles on a more immoveable basis, and to induce more and more fair minded persons of whatever school of opinion to acquiesce in its honesty and lawfulness.

WILLIAM GEORGE WARD.

*Balliol College,
June 21, 1841.*



THE
SUBJECT OF TRACT XC.

EXAMINED,

IN CONNECTION WITH THE

HISTORY OF THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES,

AND THE

STATEMENTS OF CERTAIN ENGLISH DIVINES.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

THE CASE OF BISHOP MOUNTAGUE,

IN THE REIGN OF KING JAMES I.

BY THE

REV. FREDERICK OAKELEY, M.A.

FELLOW OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

PREBENDARY OF LICHFIELD,

AND MINISTER OF MARGARET CHAPEL, ST. MARY-LE-BONE.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE original design, in this publication, was to make the Testimonies of the Divines its principal, and the remaining observations merely its subordinate feature. But the introductory remarks have grown, in the progress of the attempt, to a length, and some of the facts on which they are founded, appear to the writer to assume an importance, on which he did not originally reckon. He has accordingly altered the wording of the title page, while the sheets were passing through the press. This information is given to account for the prominence assigned to the Testimonies in the opening of the Inquiry; an inconvenience which could not have been obviated without the reconstruction of the whole.

THE
SUBJECT OF TRACT XC.

&c.

AMONG other objections which have been made to No. 90. of the Tracts for the Times, it is said to propound a view of the Thirty-nine Articles, which is unprecedented in the Church of England. The present collection of extracts is brought forward for the purpose of showing that such is not the case. One of two conclusions seems plain from them; either, that the divines from whose writings they are taken, had been at pains to reconcile certain opinions, which they both held and taught, with the terms of the Articles; or, at least, that they did not consider subscription to those Articles to present a bar to the promulgation of those opinions. And, since no view of subscription, however lax, goes the length of justifying persons in *teaching*, as well as *holding*, doctrines, which the Articles preclude, we are left to the inference, that, unless these divines regarded the Articles as a mere dead letter, they must

have been of opinion, that such doctrines were not precluded by them.

Nothing is as yet said of the case of Bishop Mountague, (appended to the extracts,) which amounts to far more than this ; amounts, in fact, to something very like an *authoritative decision*, on the part of the then Church of England, *in favour* of the consistency of certain very close approximations to Roman doctrine, with the language of her formularies ; such decision having been pronounced, after a careful deliberation, by a committee of Bishops, appointed by the king to represent the national Church.

For the present, however, I waive the case of Bishop Mountague, and confine myself to the extracts. And, in the first place, it is necessary to state, how much, and how much only, these citations are intended to prove. This necessity results from a prevailing tendency to mistake the nature of the proof to which what are called "Catenæ," and all testimonies of that description, are directed. Persons have sometimes appeared to think, that they could overthrow the evidence of "Catenæ" from the works of our divines, by producing counter "Catenæ" from the same sources ; which would indeed be the case, were such evidence adduced to prove that the doctrines, which it accredits, are *true* ; or, again, have been uniformly taught in our Church. But all that "Catenæ" *necessarily* show, and all that, as a matter of fact, they are generally intended to show, is, that certain doctrines are not *new*. This is said in anticipation of an

objection which may possibly be made to the proof now attempted. It may be called a "one-sided" view of the question. Persons may speak of the possibility of overwhelming such quotations as those now exhibited, with quotations, also from the works of English divines, of a directly opposite tenour.

Now such possibility is not merely admitted, but asserted. To what, however, does it amount? Plainly to no more than this; that the later Church of England (whether happily or not,) has ruled, or at least acquiesced in the presumption, that her Articles permit a very great latitude on both sides. It has never been maintained, that I know of, on the side of the Tract, assuredly not by its author himself, that all the doctrines, in behalf of which he pleads at least the *negative* testimony of the Thirty-nine Articles, are *imperative* upon the Clergy of the Established Church, *as such*; but simply that they are *compatible with honest subscription*. Now, this is distinctly denied on the other side. The doctrines in question, (at least in the extent intimated in the Tract,) are not merely, *in the judgment of the objectors*, excluded by the terms of the Articles, but have, it is farther urged, always been *considered, in the later English Church, to be so excluded by them*. This, then, and this only, is the point in question.

Again, it is not to the purpose to urge, as is sometimes done in objection to evidence like that now produced, that English divines are often inconsistent, not only with one another, but *with themselves*;

and thus that little, after all, is to be gathered from their statements on any one side. For the object, in these cases, is not to *justify the divines*, any more than to *ground* particular doctrines upon their *authority*, but merely to show what they have felt themselves at liberty to say, and been actually able to say without protest. And this fact has its own weight, whatever these divines may chance to have said elsewhere. Of course I do not here speak of reserves and qualifications made in the neighbourhood of the several passages.

Now it is by no means admitted of the present quotations, that they serve merely as *precedents*. Considering that they involve the judgment, upon certain subjects, of men like Andrewes and Thorndike, (not to speak of others) men not merely of profound learning, but of eminent piety, and known moderation, they must, with many persons, carry weight far beyond the very subordinate use now made of them. But there is no occasion to press them into our service beyond the point for which they are here claimed. It is enough that the authors of those passages are divines and bishops of our Church. And this being so, the question then is, not so much, who these divines and bishops were, as, what they maintained.

But there is yet another conceivable objection to the present line of defence, against which it is well to provide. It may be said, that, besides being unfair to our Church to represent her as a witness to doctrines so very much above the average pitch of

her theology, and so entirely at variance with her *occasional* teaching, it is also highly inexpedient, and especially at a time when many of her members are known to be tending in the direction of Rome, to select exclusively, and exhibit synoptically, the avowedly strongest statements which her annals any where supply, in favour of doctrines commonly thought to be characteristic of the Churches in the Roman obedience.

But this objection must be at once met by saying, that persons are driven upon this course in spite of themselves. It has been one result of the turn which the present controversy has taken, as observed by Mr. Ward, in a passage of his pamphlet quoted by Dr. Pusey¹, (a result, no doubt ordered for the best, however, with many, a subject of regret,) to provoke developments, or put upon modes of defence, which would otherwise have been premature, at least, if not positively objectionable. Mr. Newman speaks of having been deterred from certain explanations, in the first instance, by the fear of tempting persons "to go as far" as they legitimately might. And such, no doubt, is the tendency of the present argument, though framed with a view to quite a different object. All that can be said is, that, as things are, persons are exposed to a choice of difficulties. And, as we

¹ "Through the course which Mr. Newman has been obliged to take, the *Ora pro nobis* has been brought before persons who would otherwise have never thought of it."—A Few More Words, &c. page 84.

all know, the apprehension of possible results, though, (in the estimate of many) disastrous, must not deter us from a course manifestly right in itself. And such seems to be this course of obviating, if so be, great misapprehensions which are moving well-intentioned persons to adopt measures, and to use words, from which perhaps they would shrink, if they knew all, or bethought themselves, at the moment, of all they know. And in the responsibility of such (hypothetically) rash measures, and random words, any one would certainly in a degree be involved, who should, on whatever grounds of mere expediency, omit, where he feels himself able, to throw light on the subject. This, then, is one very plain Christian reason for the present publication; more shall presently be added. And, on the other hand, in stating, as has here been done, to how very little, after all, the present argument pretends, (the question being simply, whether that little be *enough* for the immediate purpose) it is hoped that all is done, which is possible under the circumstances, towards hindering persons from taking any undue advantage of it.

One inducement, then, to the present undertaking, is the earnest desire of promoting peace and unity, by throwing out for the consideration of persons, of whom the writer of these remarks is bound to speak with respect, and into whose difficulties he trusts he is not unable to enter, a view which may not have occurred to them, but which seems to make it at least

doubtful whether, by the course they feel it their duty to take, they be not fomenting needless divisions, and encouraging a spirit which, in its fullest developments (out of any man's power to arrest) they would be among the first to deprecate. Is it not that they are seeking to oppose, as at variance with the doctrine of the Church of which they are members, views, concerning which it is, at all events, a doubtful question, *whether they have not in past ages been assumed, or even pronounced, compatible with that doctrine*; and those, too, the very ages to which many of these persons are accustomed to appeal against the tone of teaching prevalent in our Church both at an earlier, and a later, period? and would it not seem that, in thwarting the present movement in favour of "more catholic views than satisfied the last century," they are rather siding with the Puritans of former times, than with the moderate party in the Church of England which they wish to represent? The case of Bishop Mountague is pertinent to this point. If the value of the evidence about to be produced be not greatly overrated, it would certainly tend to the conclusion, that, not they are introducing "a new era" in the Church of England, who endeavour to reconcile certain doctrines, however now, as of old, unpopular, with the language of the Articles, but rather they, who speak of subjecting to penalties, or placing under incapacities, the persons who are but claiming liberty to *hold* what English divines of former times claimed, and

were allowed, liberty to *teach*. This, rather than the other, would seem, if it may be said with all respect, to be the line of "innovation." No one questions the absolute right of the Church of this, as of any other day (properly represented), to impose new Articles, or a new sense upon her present; nor, again, the right and, what is more, the obligation, of individuals, whether in the University or elsewhere, to act for themselves, either in the matter of Testimonials, or in whatever other way, according to their conscientious notion of the words "doctrine and discipline of the Church of England." Only, inasmuch as the imposition of restrictions upon liberty of conscience, if it be not a duty, is certainly a sin, in that, (to omit other considerations) it is an injustice to individuals to set a mark upon them without reason, and an injustice to the Church, of which we are members, to deprive her of the services of Ministers who, not being (upon the hypothesis) disqualified for their functions, may, on other grounds, become instruments for the promotion of God's glory, and the edification of their brethren; it should certainly be a grave question with any one, who may feel inclined to debar, as far as he is able, certain persons from ecclesiastical or quasi-ecclesiastical privileges, whether he may not be laying up for himself materials of future repentance, while believing himself, in his heart, to be "doing God service²."

² To avoid all possibility of misapprehension, I will say that I am not here disputing the prerogative of Heads of Colleges to

But it is not merely that we are bound in duty to the Church of Christ to do what we can towards healing her "unhappy divisions," and to individuals, (not to deprecate, on our own account, the exercise of a power which may affect ourselves, for this is a mere trifle, or rather such temporary hardship as may be the result of it, is likely to be a benefit to ourselves, but) out of very tenderness towards our brethren, to press on them the duty, as well as the immense importance at this critical juncture, of calm religious reflection. We are likewise under especial obligation to our Bishops, to aid them (as, in a measure, the humblest has the power) in the course of moderation and forbearance which they have hitherto maintained, amid many temptations to deviate from it, under the excitement of this anxious controversy. It becomes us, where we think we have the means, to strengthen, if it may be said, their hands, by putting before a party which is endeavouring, by clamour, to provoke them to some authoritative interference, the adequate vindication (may it not rather be said the true grounds?) of their past and continued forbearance. For, who can doubt, that order all matters connected with *education* in their respective Societies, according to their own view of the interests of those entrusted to their care. I refer only to cases in which the "doctrine of the Church of England" is directly in question. And both the general tone of conversation in Oxford, and the tenor of recent publications, are enough to protect me, in what has now been said, from the charge of harbouring merely ideal apprehensions.

the pointed avoidance of all allusion to *doctrine*, in the only instance in which any of our Prelates has hitherto felt it necessary to interpose publicly, in consequence of the Tract, as well as the great reluctance manifested by the Bishops generally to interpose at all, have arisen from a disinclination, on their parts, even to appear to *rule*, (at least without very great caution,) that a certain construction of a Formulary, so avowedly comprehensive as the Thirty-nine Articles, is *absolutely inconsistent* with the obligations imposed by subscription; and thus to run risk of a schism in our Church, the effects of which it is impossible to calculate?

Again, it is a plain duty of justice and charity towards individuals, lying under grievous imputations on the score of unscrupulousness, if not positive dishonesty, to show what can be shown in their defence; and this, quite irrespectively of any claims which they may have upon this or that person on more private grounds; though, of course, the tie of affection, or the sense of obligation for services felt to be inestimable, will increase, in particular cases, the desire of coming forward, at all hazards, and with how little soever hope of success, in their behalf. In a public document, the production of grave and experienced persons, holding high and responsible situations in the country, and almost proverbial for caution, the view of the Tract has been pronounced, not merely dangerous (which is a mere expression of opinion upon *it*), but “evasive,” which involves also a

very serious reflection upon its author. Under these circumstances, it seems but common justice to the writer of the Tract, to show, if it can be shown, that he has done no more than others have done, without reproach, before him; or rather that, with great candour, and at the risk of much odium, he has gone out of his way to adjust with the terms of the Articles, statements which our older divines seem rather to have *advanced without scruple*; thus challenging investigations which they felt themselves strong enough to defy, and providing against objections, which they would not even imagine. Many, probably, who cannot bring themselves to think the author of the Tract *right*, would be equally, or even more, unwilling, to think some of our older divines *wrong*, which, in such measure as his statements are borne out by their authority, is the virtual effect of condemning him. And, after all, even if this farther consequence be not feared, or lamented, still, (as has been already said,) the plea of precedent would be thus made good on the side of the Tract.

In the way of introduction to the following extracts, I will observe, that the result of recent enquiries into our ecclesiastical annals of the three last centuries, has been to convince me, that the later Church of England has been, from first to last, remarkably unwilling to protest, *as a Church*, against the doctrines of Rome. Her authoritative protests, when she has thought it right to make

them, have been directed, almost, if not quite, without exception, against a far different school of theology. This remark appears to me to apply even to the period of the Reformation itself; when, if at any time, the Church of England might have been expected to declare herself strongly and unambiguously on the Protestant side. And, of course, there are very many who consider that she has so declared herself in 'the Thirty-nine Articles. But if this fact be not certain from the language of the Articles themselves, (and that it is not certain seems to be admitted at least by those who resort to the private opinions of the Reformers to determine the question,) certain it is, that history gives *no countenance whatever* to the opinion that, the Articles were drawn up *with the view of excluding Catholics*.

With respect to the original Articles of 1552, it seems doubtful, whether they were ever enforced; if at all, it was but in few instances³. After the revision of 1562, they *were* enforced; but, as it appears, against *Non-Conformists*, and not Roman Catholics. The question with Rome was then, as in after times, regarded in a merely political point of view.

“*Against Papists* (says Fuller, who certainly cannot be suspected of any ‘Romanistic’ bias,) it was exacted that, to write, print, &c. *that the Queen was a*

³ “He (Cranmer) laboured to have the clergy subscribe them; but against their will he compelled none.” Strype’s Cranmer, p. 272. Cf. Bp. Short’s Hist. of the Church of England, § 484.

heretic, &c., should be adjudged *treason*. *Against Non-Conformists*, it was provided that every Priest or Minister should, before the Nativity of Christ next following, declare his assent, and subscribe, to all the Articles of Religion agreed on in the Convocation of 1562, under pain of deprivation ⁴.”

And accordingly it appears, that Roman Catholics continued in the communion, and even in the Ministry, of the Church of England, for several years after the first promulgation of the Articles.

“Hitherto” (*i. e.* till A. D. 1570), “Papists generally without regret repaired to the places of divine service, and were present at our prayers, sermons, and *Sacraments* In which sense, one may say, that *the whole land was of one language and one speech*. Hitherto the English Papists *slept in a whole skin, and so might have continued*, had they not wilfully torn it themselves ⁵.”

It farther appears, that many members of the Lower House of Convocation, who were Roman Catholics, subscribed the Articles upon the revision in 1562 ⁶.

⁴ Fuller, p. 98. Eliz.

⁵ Fuller, p. 98. Eliz. See also Strype's Grindal, p. 98. “Of the subscribers (to Queen Eliz. injunctions for conformity), there were many, who had said Mass in Queen Mary's time, and such as would not change their custom of old Pater Noster.” Vide Short's Hist. of the Church of England, § 437.

⁶ Strype, (Ann. of Ref. c. xxviii.) gives their names; and, among them, we find that of the celebrated John Bridgewater, (called in Latin, Aquapontanus) who, in 1582, published the Treatise called

The term "Recusant," by which the Roman Catholics of this country were formerly designated, at once denotes the ground, and fixes the date, of their separation from the national Church. It was not upon the promulgation of the Articles, nor upon any other measure of the Church of England, but upon the political regulations which arose out of the formal excommunication of Elizabeth, in 1569, that Roman Catholics withdrew from the communion of our Church. Before that time, not even the Oath of Supremacy was a bar, as a general rule, to their admission even to *civil*, far less to ecclesiastical, privileges; the majority of them understanding this oath as a mere test of loyalty⁷.

But as to the Articles, never, that I can find, were they urged, or felt, as a ground of disunion between the Churches; and this fact, as I must consider it, is

"Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ in Angliâ adversus Calvinopapistas et Puritanos," being an account of the sufferings of English Roman Catholics in the time of Elizabeth.

⁷ See a Tract called the "Execution of Justice in England," (1583.) "These *seditions acts* . . . have made them traitors . . . not their books, nor their words, no, nor their cakes of wax which they call Agnus Dei," &c. (p. 45.)

Again, the Jesuits, addressing Queen Elizabeth, said, "In the beginning of thy kingdom thou didst deal something more gently with Catholics: none were then urged by thee, or pressed either to thy sect, or to the denial of their faith." Again, "none were ever vexed *that way, simply for that he was either Priest or Catholic*, but because they were suspected (of disloyalty)."—Important Considerations written by the Secular Priests against the Jesuits, 1601.

farther attested by the statement so commonly made, that Rome *withdrew herself*, and not *was driven*, from our communion ; and again by the plea, upon which the penal enactments, carried out from time to time in this country against Roman Catholics, have always been defended ; viz. that they were enforced upon merely civil, and in no wise upon religious, grounds. And if the “unscrupulousness of Roman Catholics” in respect of oaths, and other similar obligations, be urged as the ground of the insufficiency of our formularies as means of excluding them, then it must be shown, *why they were eventually excluded*. For that they did refuse *some* tests, is undeniable.

But to return to the Articles. There would seem to have been reasons, both of necessity and of policy, which would be likely to influence the English Reformers in favour of a very great latitude of expression upon subjects which other Protestants, or they, under other circumstances, might have been apt to determine with far greater precision.

It is much to be considered, in the first place, that, with the English Reformers, Protestantism was, as I may say, an *after-thought*. The English Reformation, upon whatever theological grounds it may eventually have been based, was, undoubtedly, in the first instance, a mere political movement ; being (so far) unfavourably distinguished from the continental struggle, which, though it ultimately issued in excesses from which we have been providentially kept, was, in its origin, far more than the English

Reformation, of the nature of an *indignant protest against existing corruptions* ⁹. I do not at all deny that corruptions of a like crying enormity, though perhaps of a different kind, existed in this country also. All I say is, that, not the scandal of these corruptions, but the influence of the Pope, and especially as it pressed inconveniently upon Henry, was the *gravamen*, to which, in this country, the quarrel with Rome owes its origin. This, of course, is not stated as a discovery, but merely adduced as an evidence to the point in hand. But the question with the See of Rome being thus opened, (no otherwise upon ecclesiastical, than as they were subservient to political, grounds,) it rapidly assumed a theological shape; and the English divines of the time were forced upon the necessity of treating, and, what is far harder, of legislating, on various and abstruse points of doctrine, under all the disadvantages of persons who had been educated in the system they were now obliged to oppose, and been rather led by circumstances, than moved by any spontaneous impulse, to adopt that, into which they were suddenly required to throw themselves.

Now this consideration, I cannot but think, will account, in a great measure, for the inconsistencies which are to be found in the writings of the English

⁹ This unfavourable feature of our Reformation was observed by the foreigners; Ἦλθε δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ξένος τις, πεμφθεὶς ἐκ τῆς Βρετανίας, μόνον διαλεγόμενος περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου γάμου τοῦ βασιλέως· τῶν δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων, οὐ μέλει, ὡς

Reformers, as well as for the (presumed) indecisive character of the Formulary which we owe to them. How was it possible, that men, of whatever ability, who had no thoughts, but for external and accidental occurrences, of originating formal declarations on the subject of Catholic doctrine, should come to the task with that maturity of reflection, and extent of foresight, which are absolutely necessary, (except where the want of long previous preparation is supplied in some degree by strong single-hearted earnestness,) to the statement of precise and definite views of theology? The divines of our own country took up Protestantism in details and by degrees, not like Luther and Calvin, as a comprehensive system¹. We find, accordingly, that, when pressed to declare themselves formally upon the great doctrinal questions which agitated Europe at the time, they “beat about,” if I may use the expression, for assistance in more experienced quarters². Now, the idea thus thrown out, if it do

φησι, τῷ βασιλεῖ.—Melancthon, quoted in Cardwell’s Preface to the Two Books of Edward VI.

The Greek Church, of the present day, is said to sympathize more with the Foreign Protestant communities, than with the Church of England, from esteeming the Foreign a more *conscientious* act than the English Reformation.

¹ Hence the doctrinal incongruities discoverable in the works, for instance, of Cranmer, who was chiefly concerned in drawing up the Articles.

² “The communication with those eminent men” (the foreign Reformers) “which had been opened, in the first instance, at the desire, and for the private purposes, of Henry, and had been dis-

not seem improbable, would precisely explain their adoption in the Formulary which they actually put out, of *terms rather than definitions*, and *vague definitions rather than those more precise*; and, again, for their practice (observed by Mr. Newman) of combating *popular views*, rather than *authoritative statements*, of doctrine, and protesting against *apparent practices*, rather than embarrassing themselves with minute theological distinctions. This is just the course of persons who do not feel themselves "at home" in a subject, as I suppose it is no injustice to the English Reformers to say that they could not have

continued, from a mutual feeling of distrust, during the latter portion of his reign, was resumed, at the death of that prince, and carried to the greatest possible extent. Hooper, Horne, Cox, Traheron, and others, who became conspicuous in the history of the English Church, were frequent correspondents, and some of them intimate friends, of Bullinger and the Reformers of Zurich. Bucer wrote a gratulatory letter to the Church of England in praise of its homilies, and with the view of recommending farther alterations; Calvin dedicated a part of his Commentary to the Protector Somerset, and urged him to carry on the *great work in which he was engaged*; Cranmer repeated his earnest invitations to Melancthon, Hardenburg, and other distinguished Reformers, and John à Lasco, &c. &c. were received in England in the most favourable manner, and many of them placed in situations of trust and influence." Dr. Cardwell's Preface to Two Prayer Books of Edward VI. p. ix.

Dr. Short shows (Hist. of Ch. of Eng. § 483) how much assistance the English reformers derived in the Articles from foreign sources; and he vindicates them (§ 343) on the ground of the difficulty of their task.

been, in the great controversies of their time. They neither came to their work, like the divines of Trent, as persons who had been long familiar with the system they were required to develop and secure; nor, again, like the framers of the German or Swiss Confessions, with that almost intuitive perception of their subject, which is well known to be the result of deep interest in any matter, and which is no inadequate substitute for long study and laborious research. The contrast, in point of precision, between the earlier and later among the Thirty-nine Articles, which Mr. Ward has observed in the "Appendix" to his Pamphlet, is a confirmation of the view now suggested.

But another consideration, quite sufficient to explain the very remarkable difference, in respect of *stringency*, between the Thirty-nine Articles and Continental Formularies, on whichever side, is that of the peculiar circumstances, under which the Articles were constructed. The divines of Trent, or, again, of Switzerland, drew up their several Confessions of Faith with the freedom and fearlessness of persons who knew that the Churches and countries which they represented, were "with them³." The

³ Compare, for instance, sweeping statements, like the following in the Helvetic Confession, with the declarations of the Thirty-nine Articles:—"Cæteras (præter Eucharistiam) cæremoniæ ambages inutiles ac innumerabiles, vasa, vestes, vela, faces, aras, aurum, argentum, quatenus pervertendæ religioni serviunt, idola præsertim . . . ac id genus omnia profana, a sacro nostro cœtu procul arcemus."

Again :

English Reformers, on the contrary, were hampered in their work by the most conflicting and embarrassing influences. They were kept, willing or unwilling, in the orbit of neutrality by the effect of opposite forces. On the one hand, there were the foreign Protestants, clamouring for a sanction, on the part of the "first of Reformed Churches," of their extreme proceedings ⁴. On the other, there were the known sentiments of the English nation, any thing but ripe for a radical change of religion, if not the prospect of difficulties in Convocation, many members of which were in favour of the old system ; and the consequent necessity of not making the Articles unacceptable to those to whom they were to be submitted ⁵.

Again : "Proinde œlibatum, ritum monasticum, et totum hoc ignavum vitæ genus, superstitionum hominum abominabile commentum, procul rejicimus, æquè et Ecclesiæ, et reipublicæ, repugnans."

⁴ The English Reformers applied for help to Melancthon, as the most moderate of the continental Protestants, and so the fittest to aid them in their difficult work. But, for this very reason, the ultra party abroad kept him back ; "quod *mollitiem* animi ejus suspectam haberent." See Dr. Cardwell's Preface to the Two Books of Edward VI. p. v.

⁵ Strange indeed is it, that history should make it doubtful whether the Forty-two Articles were ever submitted to Convocation *at all*, considering the title which they originally bore. If they were not, their profession misrepresents them in a way which involves something more than disingenuousness in the parties concerned in promulgating them. Yet the respected author of the History of the Church of England thus writes, and substantiates his observation by reference to documents of the time. "From the

Mr. Ward⁶ appears to have stated this point somewhat drily and technically, when he imputes (as I understand him,) to the English Reformers, a deliberate and disingenuous purpose, *throughout their task*, (for in places they can hardly be screened from the imputation,) of adjusting the claims of these rival

title under which the Articles were originally published *, it might be supposed that they derived their authority from the sanction of Convocation ; but if they were ever submitted to the Upper House, which is very questionable, it is *indubitable* that they were never brought before the Lower ; while *all the original mandates which remain, prove that they were promulgated by Royal authority alone.*" Short's History of the Church of England, § 48.

Heylin (Hist. of the Reformation, p. 126, A. D. 1552,) considers this supposition too monstrous to be entertained, and accordingly supposes that Convocation delegated its power to a Committee, (nominated, according to Dr. Short, by *the king.*) He argues, rather strangely, that the profession of the title is justified by his view, as though a Committee of one House of Convocation were equivalent to the whole body of the two. The whole story, like all else connected with the annals of the English Reformation, is, to say the least, very uncomfortable.

But whether or not Cranmer drew up the Articles for the Convocation, (if so, the proof to the present point is so much the stronger ; and even the fact, if true, that he did not ultimately submit them, does not show that he had no intention of submitting them to one or both Houses,) still it is certain that he both designed, and attempted, to obtain the subscription of the Clergy (Strype's Cranmer, p. 27) which would alone oblige the course of moderation.

⁶ A Few More Words, &c. p. 43.

* Articuli de quibus in *Synodo Londinensi*, &c.

parties, the foreign Protestants on the one side, and the old English Catholics on the other. Mr. Ward seems to think, that they set out, and acted all along, with the intention of reconciling, as a kind of mathematical problem, the maximum of Protestantism with the minimum of offence. It is not, perhaps, necessary to go this length; and if it be not necessary, one is bound, in charity, to stop short of it. That the English Reformers were anxious to give many of the Articles as Protestant an air, as they thought it prudent to risk, this I cannot but apprehend. And yet it may be questioned whether, *on the whole*, they acted with any direct and systematic disingenuousness; and not rather in some such way as the framer of a petition to Parliament (for instance) who wishes to make a striking manifesto of opinion, without losing more signatures than he can help; or, again, as a somewhat too compromising preacher, who, under the influence of anticipated objections, puts saving, (which are, in fact, neutralizing,) clauses into his sermon. Of course such proceedings are quite inconsistent with strong, earnest, and distinctly realized, views; but these it is, I will say, quite certain, that Archbishop Cranmer, for one, did not possess either way; at least when he drew up the Articles. That he did not possess them, is sufficiently shown by the fact of his writings being cited on completely different sides of a theological controversy.

It may seem unfair to the Reformers to represent

their course in respect of the Articles under any other character than that of a wise and commendable moderation. But it is to be considered, whether many of the points which they have left indeterminate, be not points, if not of necessary faith, at least of necessary deduction from the ground-work of all faith, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, upon which we thankfully acknowledge that the Articles *are* unambiguous. I may mention the subject of the "Holy Catholic Church," as one among many others, upon which a precise Formulary would not merely *allow* of the orthodox, but *preclude* the erroneous, view. There are points of Catholic belief, only not condemned in the Articles (such *e. g.* as the Eucharistic Sacrifice,) the *denial* of which, if it appear strong to call it actual heresy, is, at least, of a directly heretical tendency; and want of explicitness on these, if intentional, implies unworthy compromise; if unintentional, culpable short-sightedness. It must not be complimented with the name of moderation. It is moderation only when its subject matter is unessential; but the differences between Catholicism and Protestantism are so fundamental and irreeconcilable, that, if the Articles (as I have all along supposed,) give free scope for near approximations to the extremes *on both sides*, they *must* involve the compatibility with honest subscription, of what, in the judgment of one, or the other party, is serious error. This consequence of the present argument may as well be frankly acknowledged at once, since it cannot

be avoided. But then it must be borne in mind, that our Clergy (as Mr. Ward reminds us) not merely subscribe the Articles, but declare their assent to the Prayer-book, which must, accordingly, be regarded as our Church's standard commentary upon several of those points which the Articles have left in doubt⁷. But, on what may be called the Protestant side of the question, there is no corresponding interpreter of the Articles. The Homilies tell as much one way as the other; which cannot certainly be said of the Prayer-book.

To pass now from the composition of the Articles in 1552, to their revision and republication in 1562. If it be highly probable, both on *à priori*, and on historical, grounds, that their original framers drew them up with a studied reference to the views of those who retained their prepossessions in favour of the old Religion, this fact appears to be historically certain, in the case of Archbishop Parker, and the divines who remodelled them. Of these Dr. Heylin says,

“Their moderation is no less visible in declining all *unnecessary determinations*, which rather tended to the multiplying of controversies, and engendering of strifes. . . . So that they seem to have proceeded by those very rules which *King James* so much approved of in the Conference at Hampton Court. First, in not separating farther from the Church of

⁷ See “A Few More Words,” &c. by the Rev. W. G. Ward, p. 21.

Rome, than that Church had separated from what she was in her purest times ; 2dly, *in not stuffing the Articles with conclusions theological*, in which a latitude of judgment was to be allowed, as far as was consistent with peace and charity. As they omitted many whole Articles in King Edward's book, and qualified the expressions in some others, so were they generally very sparing of anything which was merely matter of modality, or *de modo* only. . . . *which rules being carefully observed by all the bishops, it was no wonder that they passed their votes without contradiction.*

“But in taking the subscription of the Lower House, there appeared more difficulty. For, though they all testified their consent unto them, yet, when subscription was required, *many of the Calvinian or Zuinglian Gospellers, possibly* ⁸ some also which were inclined rather to the *old Religion*, and who found themselves unsatisfied in some particulars, had demurred to it ⁹.” He adds, that at length *all subscribed*. This appears doubtful ¹⁰; however, very many, at all events, subscribed, including Roman Catholics.

From all this it would appear, that the object, both of the original framers, and subsequent revisers,

⁸ This is remarkable. He speaks as if the objections had come rather from the other quarter. The passage is likewise important, as intimating that the Catholics (for it is a fact (vid. sup. p. 13) that many were in the Convocation,) *demurred* to the terms of the Articles; did not, I mean, regard them as a mere *unmeaning declaration of conformity*; yet they eventually yielded.

⁹ Hist. of Ref. Eliz. p. 159.

¹⁰ Strype, A. of R. c. xxviii.

of the Articles, was to form a National Church upon the most comprehensive basis; consisting of all who could by any means be brought to subscribe its characteristic Formulary. Had they wished to exclude Roman Catholics, as persons holding views dangerous to the National Church, it is quite inconceivable why they should present (as they did,) the Articles, again and again, to the members of Convocation, (many of whom had offices in the Church in the preceding reign,) until all, or nearly all, had subscribed them. Had their purpose in the Articles been what the modern view supposes; as soon as any Roman Catholic refused to sign, it would have been answered. They had framed their test, and it was successful. What then remained, but that the objectors should quit the Ministry? Instead of which, they took the best means in their power to overcome the scruple¹. This certainly looks as if our divines did not try, like Luther and Calvin, to create a new Protestant community; but sought rather to remodel the existing, and long-established, English Church. And, though it be true, that they made a grievous mistake in admitting into it the elements (as proved by subsequent events,) of certain disunion, still, on the other hand, they seem to have acted in a Catholic spirit towards the representatives of the ancient Faith; not seeking to dispossess them of their place in the Church, provided only they were content to remain in it as *English*, not as *Roman*, Catholics; to give up their adhe-

¹ See Heylin, p. 159.

sion to the Pope, so far as it was inconsistent with the claims of the National Head, retaining, the while, their belief in other points of the common Catholic Faith². And so matters remained for several years; and so they might have continued, but for later events, which brought on a crisis: and though, in themselves, (like the original differences with Rome under Henry VIII.,) of a political, rather than a religious, nature, produced an immediate, and most material, change in the visible relations of the Churches.

It does not fall within the scope of these observations, to pursue, what may be called the history of the Catholic doctrine in the later Church of England, beyond the period of the Reformation, as finally settled under Elizabeth. It is hereafter to be shown, that this view of the Articles, which it has been attempted to establish on historical grounds, and by which they are presumed to be (except where they refer to the direct subject of the Creeds,) a mere declaration against certain existing abuses, couched, occasionally, in highly Protestant language, but, in truth, clear of the doctrines which they appear to infringe, is, if not the very view, at least not materially unlike the view, upon which certain of our divines must be thought to have proceeded. For otherwise, we must accuse these divines of running wilfully counter to the doctrine of

² The Roman Catholics, of former times, who took the Oath of Supremacy, appear to have understood it, according to the interpretation proposed in Dr. Pusey's pamphlet on Tract 90, as a mere disclaimer of the Pope's *temporal* authority in this kingdom.

their Church, or that Church of most deplorable remissness, in not vindicating her own doctrine; of remissness, indeed, to which she could not have yielded, without knowing for certain, that she was thereby precluding future generations from all hope of recovering, (at least without a second Reformation,) that (supposed) anti-catholic sense of the Articles, which she was thus suffering to escape.

But, before coming to this latter point, I may add, that the study of our later ecclesiastical annals will also furnish many indications of a like providential care exercised in the preservation of our Church from a committal, by any formal act, to uncatholic error.

The one exception to the truth of this remark, which, after some attention, I have been able to discover (if indeed it be, as for my own part I am certainly disposed to think that it is, an exception) is in what are called the Canons of Archbishop Laud, because ratified by a synod of the Church of England in his primacy. This, to the best of my knowledge and belief, is the only document of the nature of an ecclesiastical decision, (and the observation may be extended to *political* enactments, between the periods of the Reformation and Revolution of 1688²;) which condemns any *doctrine* of Rome, as distinct from the Papal claim of *jurisdiction* in this realm³. In the Canons of 1603, there is no hint of apprehension from

² See Appendix.

³ Such acts as that of the Seven Bishops, in 1688, not being acts of the Church of England, but of individuals, do not interfere with the above statement.

the influence of foreign Churches, except in the single injunction for the presentment of "*Recusants*" to the ordinary, to be by him reported to the Bishop, and so on to the king. Again, the synodical acts of our Church in 1604 and 1661, were both of them in a more Catholic direction than the proceedings at the time of the Reformation⁴. The case of Bishop Moun-
tague involves a strong declaration on the Catholic side. On the other hand, the State of England, till the Revolution, did not attempt to meddle with the doctrinal profession of Roman Catholics, provided only it could obtain a guarantee for their *loyalty*⁵.

⁴ The re-introduction of the explanation at the end of the Communion Service, made on the latter of these occasions, may, at first sight, appear to be at variance with this remark; as it is, indeed, the only other instance I have observed of Roman doctrine being even *glanced at* by our Church during the above-mentioned interval. On consideration, however, it will be found even to support the view now taken; as the substitution of the term "*corporal* presence" for "*real* presence" was plainly an act "in a more catholic direction," and seems to fall in with the general habit of our Church, by condemning, not formal statements of doctrine, but popular corruptions*. Our assent to the Prayer-book of course involves no judgment as to the advisableness of this commentary upon our Service. Mr. Newman, however, has contended, in his Tract, that it may be understood in a sense altogether innocent.

⁵ The following are important testimonies, on both sides, to this fact. The first is from the work of a Protestant, (supposed to be Bishop Barlow,) published shortly before the Revolution. "It

* Cf. Dr. Cardwell's Hist. of Conferences, &c., p. 35. Note. (See Appendix.)

And it is remarkable that the time which the State chose for an innovation upon her ancient policy in this respect, should have been the beginning of an epoch, during which, more than at any other period since the Reformation, the Church of England was disposed to act independently of the State. And a memorable fact it is, that the expiring energies of Convocation were directed, not against any high Mystery of the common Faith, under the name of superstition, but, contrariwise,

“ It is certain that these oaths” (of Supremacy and Allegiance) “ were primarily designed to be a sufficient test to distinguish Papists from others. And yet in either of them there is no mention of *doctrine*, but only those which concern government, that is, the external government both of Church and State. . . . I may add the constant profession and answer of all Protestant writers. Whensoever any complaint has been made of the severity used to Roman Catholics, it has been always said that they suffered not for religion, but for treason, &c.”—“ Considerations on the true way of suppressing Popery,” p. 35. See also pp. 47. 53. 73. 115.

On the other hand, the Secular Priests urged against the Jesuits in 1601 :—

“ If we at home, all of us, both Priests and people had possessed our souls in meekness and humility, honoured her Majesty, borne with the infirmities of the State, suffered all things, *and dealt as true Catholic Priests* . . . assuredly the State would have loved us, or, at least, borne with us : where there is one Catholic, there would have been ten . . . *for none were ever vexed that way simply*, for that he was either Priest, or Catholic, but because they were suspected . . . of traitorous designments.”—“ Important Considerations,” in a Collection of Tracts on the Penal Laws. London, 1675.

against the heresy, which passes through a degradation of the Sacraments into a dishonouring of Him who is their Life⁶.

But the Canons of 1640 present, as I may be allowed to say of an act of the then Church, in no way binding upon us, a somewhat perplexing combination of Catholic regulations, of an external kind, with strong disclaimers of the doctrine, which alone gives to such usages, as are therein enjoined, any value, or even any meaning. It would be a curious question, which this is not the place to pursue, whether much of the odium which our Church has, at different times incurred, on the ground of *formalism*, may not have been, in great measure, due to the want of a clearer recognition, on the part of her divines, of the intimate connexion subsisting between the forms and the spirit of true Religion; or, in other words, a fuller development of the Sacramental theory of the Church. Certainly, I would not be thought to defend the conduct of the Puritans; and yet, without referring more to one age than another, it seems both due to others, and salutary for ourselves, to consider, whether the opposition which our Church has, at different times, encountered from serious, although mistaken, persons, may not have arisen, in some degree, from a tendency, on the part of her members, to substitute mere outward conformity for vital unity, and to lay stress upon externals, without a clear enuncia-

⁶ Bishop Hoadly has been declared, on high authority, a Socinian.

tion of the principles upon which they depend⁷. But, to return to the Laudian Canons. I will not avail myself of the argument *ad hominem*, by which this document might be disposed of, on the ground of its alleged want of authority. These Canons, though not, I believe, an act of Convocation, were certainly the act of a synod. I admit also, that, as far as they go, they appear to me to be at variance with the moderation of tone characteristic of the later Church of England. I am glad, for the sake of our Church, that she has renounced them. I am glad, for the sake of Christian unity, that, in subscribing the Articles, we are not required to declare assent to these, or any other, Canons. It is well known, that a Bishop of our Church suffered himself to be put under arrest rather than subscribe them. But Bishop Goodman, it is urged by many, was a Roman Catholic; and so, they would say, his objection to the Laudian Canons, is not to the point. Now if, when it is said that Bishop Goodman was a Roman Catholic, it be meant, that he formally joined the communion of Rome, this certainly was not the case. If he were a Roman Catholic in any other sense, then may such a Roman Catholic

⁷ And, surely, considering the very imperfect and ambiguous development of Catholic principles *generally*, even in the very best days of the Church of England since the Reformation, (not to speak of the painfully unecclesiastical character of proceedings in that æra itself,) we seem bound, in justice as well as charity, to make the largest allowance for those, who, in these latter days, have failed to recognize, in our Church, their appointed Mother in the Faith.

be in the communion, and even in the highest office, of the Church of England ; which is very much to the present point. The higher we set Bishop Goodman's Catholicism, the more striking is the fact, that one who was conscientious enough to suffer penalties rather than subscribe the Laudian Canons, *should not have stumbled at the Articles*. How strange a phenomenon in the history of any Church, or, rather, (may we not say?) how wonderful a token of the Providence which has watched over ours, that catholic minds, perplexed by the inconsistencies of a catholic age, should be able to fall back upon the *Articles*, "the offspring of an uncatholic" one ; and, again, that Protestants of a later time should have been the parties to extricate Catholics from obligations of which they are glad to be relieved, and even to contend for the Formulary, by which they are willing to be tried !

Whether it have arisen from the unwarrantable conduct of the Roman party in England, or from the recollection of ancient grievances, or from the desire of obviating, at any rate, the suspicion of Popery, or from an inadequate estimate of the importance of Catholic unity, or from whatever other cause ; certain it is, that some even of our greater divines are accustomed to speak of the Roman Church in terms which it is hard to reconcile with their very close approximation, in parts of their writings, to Roman doctrine. And one reason, perhaps, why persons are startled by attempts, such as that inci-

dentally made in Tract 90, to harmonize parts of the Articles with the Decrees of Trent, is, that they derive their idea of our Church's position in respect of other branches of the Church Catholic, from the harsh and exclusive tone upon which many of her divines have been forced by circumstances, rather than from the actual amount of their testimony to Catholic Truth. It has not been unusual with us to speak almost as if *independence* were, *per se*, a greater boon to a Church, than oneness with the Catholic body; a sentiment, which appears to savour rather of Judaism, than of the gracious and comprehensive dispensation under which we live. With the intimations of our own Church, at least, (not to mention the explicit declarations of Scripture,) it would seem most agreeable, to consider that the especial work of the Holy Spirit in the Body Catholic is to make the "whole earth," which the author of confusion has split into parts, "of one language, and of one speech³."

But the stronger has been the temptation, whether arising out of our national peculiarities, or the pressure of external circumstances, to glory in our isolation, as a Church, instead of mourning for the sins of which it is the penalty; the deeper should be our gratitude to those of our divines, who, with Andrewes in England, and Forbes in Scotland, have made the

³ First Lesson for the morning of the Monday in Whitsun week.

restoration and re-union of Christendom, the object of their efforts, and of their prayers.

It may not be uninteresting, nor altogether irrelevant to the object of the present publication, to give some account of two remarkable attempts, (among others,) which have been made in different ages, and (as there is reason to suppose,) on different sides, of the Church, in this country, of a character somewhat similar to the Essay which has lately attracted so much notice and censure. The more recent of these very curious and striking dissertations it falls immediately within my present object to notice. The other is well worthy of the attentive consideration of English Churchmen, as the testimony of an impartial witness to the orthodoxy and catholicity of our own communion. I begin with the latter.

“Francis à Sancta Clara, a Dominican friar, of great learning and moderation, whose real name is Christopher Davenport, was chaplain to Queen Henrietta” (to whose influence we are indebted for one of the most catholic books in our Church, the “Hours of Devotion,” of Bishop Cosin,) “and afterwards to Catharine, Queen of Charles II. He was much noticed by the learned men of his day⁴. This ecclesiastic entertained the idea of the possibility of reconciling the Churches of England and Rome ;

⁴ He appears to have lived on terms of familiarity with Laud and Goodman.

and, with this view, had composed a short Treatise, in which he endeavoured to show that the Articles of the Church of England were in accordance with the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, supporting his position from the writings of Bishop Andrewes, Bishop Mountague, Dr. White, and other learned Protestants ⁵.”

The Treatise to which the above extract refers, is called “*Expositio Paraphrastica Confessionis Angliæ*,” and is appended to a work on the subject of the Calvinistic controversy ⁶. Although written with a somewhat different object from Tract 90, it will be found to suggest an interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles, in many respects strikingly similar to that put forward by Mr. Newman. As this fact has been publicly urged in objection to the Tract, I will at once admit the accuracy of the statement. This expositor speaks in the strongest language of the general catholicity of the English Articles. The great majority, including those on “*Predestination*,” “*on Ministering in the Congregation*,” and “*on Baptism*,” he characterizes in terms such as the following.—“*Omnino catholicus*,” “*optimam continet doctrinam*,” “*conformis SS. Scripturis, doctrinæ sanctorum Pa-*

⁵ Brewer’s Preface to “the Court of King James I., by Dr. Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester.”

⁶ The title of the work is “*Deus, Natura, Gratia, sive Tractatus de Prædestinatione, &c. Auctore Francisco a Sancta Clara*,” &c., published in 1634.

trum, et praxi Universalis Ecclesiae.” In some very few cases (especially Art. xxxi. and xxxvii.) he admits a great *apparent* difficulty; but maintains that it is apparent only. In the case of others, (*e. g.* the Articles on the “Sacraments,” the “Marriage of Priests,” and the “Communion in both kinds”) he contends that there is hardly a colour for the objections which some Catholics had made to them. But it may not be amiss to give the view which this remarkable writer takes of some of those Articles, which have been recently so much canvassed. I will begin with that “on General Councils,” in which Sancta Clara sees none of that “*primâ facie* Protestantism” which so perplexes Mr. Ward; but rather considers, with Dr. Pusey, that the very wording of the Article is strictly catholic. He thus comments.—

Art. xxi. “General Councils may not (*non possunt*) be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes.”

“These words⁷,” he observes, “seem to be confirmed by the authority of Jerome, who asks (*Apol. 2. cont. Ruffin.*) in objection to a certain Council, what emperor *commanded* (*jussit*) ‘the assembling of this Synod?’ as if meaning, that the ‘commandment’ of the Emperor was necessary. And thus in the case of all the ancient Councils (to make a general statement) this rule was observed.

⁷ My readers are probably aware that Sancta Clara’s work is in Latin. The translation here given is rather free, but will, I believe, be found accurate.

Speaking abstractedly, (that is to say, viewing the matter as a question of *divine right*,) Councils *may* be gathered together *without* the interference of Princes, as Jerome would not have denied. But *per accidens*, (that is to say, taking into account the circumstances of time, place, &c.) the consent, and even the command, of Princes is a preliminary requisite.

“Again” (he continues) “the words which follow, present no greater difficulty. ‘Things pertaining to God,’ is an expression of great latitude. That General Councils may err in things *not necessary to salvation* (quæ fidem aut mores ad salutem necessarios non concernunt) is the common judgment of our doctors Let none, then, quarrel with this clause “even in things,” &c. That General Councils can err in things *necessary to salvation*, the Article does not assert. That they may err in minor matters, Catholics do not deny.

“The last words of the Article express the judgment of the Church in modern, as well as ancient, times. For Councils cannot *make* a proposition heretical, which before was otherwise; neither can they *coin* (cudere) an Article of Faith. Their province is, to give an *explicit* force to the *implicit* sense of Scripture and the Apostolic words, (ex abditioribus SS. locis et Apostolorum dictis, veritatem eruere) that so (as Lirinensis has it) a later generation may more clearly understand what a former more indistinctly believed This is all the Church proposes, when she is said to determine (definire) certain truths. For she rests (innititur) not on any fresh revelations, but on those of the ancient time, which are *involved* (latitantibus) in the Scriptures, and words of the Apostles,” &c.

The view which this acute and learned divine takes of Art. XXII. is as follows :

Art. "The Romish doctrine concerning the Invocation of Saints is a fond thing," &c.

"Words," (proceeds the expositor) "doubtless of a very severe aspect. But observe; what the terms of this Article condemn, is not Invocation of Saints *simply in itself*, (as is evident,) but the *Romish doctrine of Invocation*.

"What then is this Romish doctrine? or rather, what is the Protestant account of the Roman doctrine? For the question is, not what the so-called 'Romanists,' have said, but what Protestants have supposed them to say. Calvin (Inst. l. iii. c. 20) affirms, that we invoke the Saints as gods. Andrewes, in his answer to Cardinal Perron, supposes that our prayers are directed to the Saints as ultimate objects of worship, and without any qualification (*ultimatas et absolutas*) and, as it were, to so many divinities. And this he tries to show from the *harmony*, not of our doctors, but of our hymns (*concentu, non consensu*).

"On the whole, then, the Anglican Confession determines nothing against the Catholic Faith, but rather condemns a profane and heathen doctrine, with which the Church is not fairly chargeable."

Here this commentator has certainly overlooked important considerations connected with the subject, to which Mr. Newman has drawn attention; especially the value of our Article as a protest against actual abuses, and as a warning against "*peril* of idolatry." So far, however, as this interpretation considers that "not every doctrine, but only the *Romish* doctrine," of Invocation, is condemned by the Article, it agrees with that of the Tract. The question, upon which Mr. Newman and Sancta Clara appear to differ, is

that of the extent to which the Church, in whose communion certain abuses exist, is committed, by *non-interference*, to the *virtual* sanction of what she formally disavows.

This Roman Catholic interpreter takes the same view with Mr. Newman, of expressions in our Articles, which, denying of certain practices or institutions, that they are *Scriptural*, in the sense of being *ordained in Scripture*, do not deny, that they may be, and are, obligatory, as matters of ecclesiastical regulation. Speaking of Art. XXVIII., towards the close of which are the words “by *Christ's ordinance*,” he observes,

“What is not by CHRIST formally commanded, may yet by the Church be rightly instituted.”

Again, with reference to Art. XXXII.

“Bishops, priests, and deacons, are not *commanded* to vow celibacy; they are not required, *jure divino*, to abstain from marriage; therefore, as far as ‘divine right’ is concerned, they *may* marry, both lawfully and validly. This is the more common opinion in the schools, and the Article makes no farther assertion.”

The important connexion between the two parts of Art. XXXI. “on the One Oblation,” is clearly pointed out in this commentary.

Art. “The Offering of Christ once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world . . . *wherefore* the *sacrifices of masses*,” &c.

Obs. "The former part, so far as it relates to the affirmative proposition, is no subject of controversy. And, where the Article proceeds to a denial of all satisfaction for the guilt of sin, the Oblation of the Cross excepted; we must understand that the whole of that which is affirmed of CHRIST, is denied to any other; in other words, that none, except CHRIST, can, by any action or suffering, wash away sin, that is, to the exclusion of CHRIST," (præscindendo CHRISTUM).

Hence he concludes, that the Article does not contravene the doctrine of those English divines, who consider that the Eucharistic Ordinance involves a true, although a commemorative Sacrifice.

The other work, to which I have referred, as bearing upon the subject of Mr. Newman's Tract, is called "An Essay towards Catholic Communion, by a Minister of the Church of England." It was published in 1715; and, being avowedly an attempt towards reconciliation with Rome, attracted, as was natural at that particular time, the notice of the government. A warrant appears to have been issued from the Secretary of State's office for the seizure of the author's papers, and the arrest of his person; under a suspicion, apparently, that he was in league with the Pretender. It was more than insinuated by adverse parties, that he was actually in communion with Rome at the time; but the internal evidence of his book, is, in the opinion of competent and most impartial judges whom I have consulted, so

strongly the other way, that I am bound, in honesty, as well as charity, to give him credit for his professions.

The object of this writer is to show, by quotations from the works of approved divines of the Church of England, especially Bishops Andrewes, Forbes, and Mountague, the coincidence between the statements of our own theologians, and the authoritative declarations of the Council of Trent, upon various points of doctrine and practice; as, for instance, the Real Presence, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Intermediate State, Intercession for the Dead, and the Reverence due to Images and Relics. Accordingly, this Essay is alone enough to take from the present undertaking all pretension to originality. However, my object, so far, falls short of that of this writer, that, while he seems to consider that the Church of England *teaches* certain doctrines, all at which I aim, is to show, that she cannot be *proved to repudiate them*. And of this Essay, ingenious and (on the whole,) conclusive as it is, I am ready to admit, that it seems to me, for the reason I have just given, partial, if not disingenuous. Also, I will add, that, in the extracts which the writer has made from the works of English theologians, (the most important of which, I have verified, and find correct,) he has not always been sufficiently observant of *collateral* qualifications in the context of what he cites. Altogether then, I will say of this very curious book, that, while no person ought to take any decisive step in the present controversy, till he has carefully

read, and fairly weighed it; I am, for my own part, inclined to dispense with the evidence which it furnishes to the point of these observations, from feeling, not so much, I may sincerely say, that it is questionable, as that it is superfluous.

The extract, which, among others, I am about to make in support of the statement to the proof of which these observations are directed, shall come from a quarter which there can be no difficulty in admitting. It shall come, not from this Catholic Essay, but from the Anglican Reply to it. Of this, then, I will now say a few words. The Essay, in question, is accompanied by Observations intended (according to the profession of the title-page,) to “detect the mystery, and to expose and defeat the design, of the original work.” The writer of these Observations evidently supposed, that the author of the Essay was a Roman Catholic in disguise, and, accordingly, does not spare him. He, then, at least, must be considered an impartial witness. Yet we shall presently see, how far even *he* goes on the side of the Tract.

The “Observations” in question I have been enabled to trace to Nathaniel Spinckes, A. M., Rector of Peakirk cum Glynton, in the county of Northampton, and diocese of Peterborough and of St. Martin, Sarum, and also Prebendary of that Cathedral; of which dignity he was deprived, in the episcopate of Bishop Burnet, A. D. 1690, on the ground of his refusal to take the oaths to King William III.

Of the remaining divines, by whose writings I

have profited in the present attempt, there is but one of whom I feel it necessary to say any thing in this place.

William Forbes, D.D., flourished in the times of James I. and Charles I., and was appointed first Bishop of Edinburgh in the reign of the latter. He was a native of Aberdeen, and entered the Marischal College in that city at the age of twelve. After completing his academical career, he visited the continent of Europe, and studied, for some time, in the German universities. He was deeply versed in the theology of the early Church, and accurately acquainted with the original languages of Holy Scripture, especially Hebrew. It is needless to add, that he was master of Latin. Upon his return to Scotland, he entered the sacred Ministry, and laboured in his calling with extraordinary zeal. King James I. being at Aberdeen, Forbes was chosen, with others, to confer with that monarch on matters of academical privilege; and received the degree of D.D., by royal mandate. He was afterwards, successively, Principal of the College, and Rector of the University. On the visit of King Charles I. to Scotland in 1633, Forbes was nominated to fill the See of Edinburgh, endowed by that monarch. Immediately after his consecration, he was attacked by serious illness, which ended mortally in the third month of his episcopate, and forty-ninth year of his age.

His principal work, to which I am now indebted,

is entitled "Considerationes modestæ et pacificæ Controversiarum," and is avowedly an attempt to effect a reconciliation with Rome, on the basis of the common Catholic Faith. It was found among his papers, and published after his decease. The following is the testimony of an intimate acquaintance to the usefulness and excellence of his Ministerial life.

"Inter alios eminebat Gulielmus Forbesius ex opere quodam posthumo, *Considerationes modestæ et pacificæ Controversiarum*, &c. inscripto, erudito orbi cognitus, inter primos sui ævi eruditos.—Vir, vitæ sanctimoniâ, humilitate cordis, gravitate, modestiâ, temperantiâ, orationis et jejunii frequentiâ, bonorum operum praxi, industriâ pauperum curâ, clinicorum crebrâ visitatione et consolatione, et omnifariâ virtute Christianâ, inter optimos primitivæ Ecclesiæ Patres annumerandus. In concionando ad populum fervens adeo ut auditorum mentes et affectus raperet; doctrinâ et eruditione insignis, sublimato pollens judicio, memoriâ etiam tenacissimâ (de quo vulgo dictum, quod ignoraret quid sit oblivisci), Veritatis et pacis amantissimus, ac proinde, rerum controversarum momentis acutissime expensis et pensitatis, nulli parti addictus, partium lites componere, saltem mitigare, satagebat." Geo. Garden in vitâ R. V. Joh. Forbesii, p. 19. inter Forbesii opera, vol. 1.

Having now, as I hope, sufficiently cleared the way for the following extracts, I will add a few concluding words in explanation.

If, in the preceding remarks, there be any expression which seems even so much as to imply

the desire of reflecting upon past transactions, or needlessly reviving exhausted discussions; if any, which can be thought to betoken a defective appreciation of the difficulties of others, or an intention of throwing obstacles in the way of their conscientious discharge of duty, I heartily lament such expression, and wish it recalled.

Much, surely, there is, both in the actual appearances of the Church at this time, and in the position and circumstances of those who, in their endeavours to defend her, have drawn upon themselves the opposition of zealous men, to create mutual sympathy, even where, unhappily, there can be but little agreement. It is impossible any longer to shut our eyes, even where we may wish it, to the fact, that certain views of theology have gained an influence in this country, which may well alarm those who think them essentially wrong, and must needs make all anxious, but those who think them essentially right. So far as any person sees in these views, not a mere fortuitous collection of opinions, some true, others false, others indifferent; but a compact, harmonious, and living system, which, if it be not divine (as its upholders maintain) must be the antagonist of what is divine, I cannot but admire that person's sagacity, however I may deplore his conclusion. There is neither wisdom, nor fairness, in denying that a certain course of teaching *does* tend to what the parties who make the assertion mean by "Popery," that is, to the *full* and *consistent* carrying out of the Sacra-

mental theology; the doctrine, namely, that *the Church Catholic, as the Instrument of the Holy Spirit, and the Representative of our Lord in His Kingly, Priestly, and Prophetical Offices, is the one (ordained) channel of blessing from God to man, and means of access from man to God.* And, no doubt also, so far as the impressive and consolatory idea of a Visible Church is more fully realized in Rome, than among ourselves, the craving, which this course of instruction has been chiefly instrumental in awakening, *tends* even to Rome; which, however, is very different from saying, or necessarily implying, either that it *ought to terminate* there, or that it *will*. But if by "Popery" be meant, some form of superstition and idolatry, then not they only, who seek to *advance*, but they also, who do not *actively resist*, the present movement, (being supposed conscientious men,) must be understood to intimate, by the very fact of such advocacy, or acquiescence, their belief that it tends to no such result, except in the way of perversion or abuse.

Again, on the other hand, although the defenders of the Tract imply, by the very circumstance of defending it, that they consider the difficulties greater on the side of those who oppose its interpretation of the Articles, than on their own, yet few of them, I imagine, go so far as to say, that their own side is altogether without difficulty. Mr. Newman, for one, has never intimated that he regards the construction for which he pleads, as the *obvious* one; quite the

reverse. Now the confession of *primâ facie* difficulty on the one side, is a virtual admission of the claim to sympathy and forbearance on the other. At all events, I will express my own firm persuasion, that in points such as those upon which the present controversy has chiefly turned, there is no side in the Church of England, at this moment, the representatives of which are, under existing circumstances, in any situation to dogmatize or condemn. It is one thing to feel, that there is no safety but in the consistent following out of one line of doctrine, to the exclusion of all others; and, again, that our Church, fairly considered, presents no insurmountable barrier to the pursuit of Truth, even in its remoter bearings, in that direction; and quite another, to deal hardly with those, be they without, or within, the pale of the Church established, who, whether from the prejudices of education, or the prevalence of traditionary impressions, coinciding with the absence of any unambiguous witness on the other side, on the part of our Church herself, are bent on carrying out, with greater or less consistency, the principles which it has all along been assumed that the English Reformers themselves were not unwilling to encourage.

So little, happily, does sympathy, in the present instance, depend on perfect agreement in opinion, that, rather, where there is the less agreement, there is, for some reasons, the greater sympathy. It is easier, I mean, to *understand*, and, so far, to feel with, those who, looking at the present movement in its

true character, as part of a consistent whole, regard it as simply evil, than with those who view it with mixed feelings, or with no feelings at all. Wherein such persons esteem it a deep philosophy, and not a mere interesting literature ; an absorbing principle, and not a mere transient excitement ; and wherein they look below its superficial appearances, into its solid grounds, and beyond its present manifestations, to its undeveloped capabilities, they take, as I must think, a truer and more earnest view of the subject, than those who pronounce a hesitating and qualified sentence upon certain parties and proceedings ; much more than those who seek to talk the matter off, as a mere ephemeral topic, or hush it up, as a mere inconvenient disturbance. On the other hand, and in the way of compensation, it must be remembered, that where there seems less of consistency and reality to command our admiration, there is also less of what we must consider serious error to excite our sorrow. And again, when it is said that we may not *understand* how this or that person is able to reconcile certain opinions, or courses, which seem to *us* contradictory, still this is very different from charging him with culpable inconsistency. Which of us is any judge of another, or can attempt to try his mind by any known rule ? It is most certain, indeed, that truth and falsehood, and, therefore, consistency and inconsistency, have a nature of their own, independent of the mind to which they are accidentally subjected ; but, important as it is to recol-

lect this, for the purposes of faith, it is, for the purposes of charity, equally important to consider, that, as respects the *moral probation of individuals*, this essential nature admits of incalculable modification from unknown varieties of circumstance. At all events, so it is, that, among the opponents of the doctrine in question, the vast majority are, if I may not say happily inconsistent, at least happily unprepared, to oppose it without reluctance or reserve. Few, comparatively, are ready to say of the Catholic movement, that it is simply evil, and so to throw themselves, heart and soul, into the antagonist system. And those, who are not so disposed, but who, I really believe, were they required to make their choice, would at once close with *mere* Catholicism rather than *mere* Protestantism, I ask, with every distrust of myself, but none of my cause, to try and realize their position, and their objects; what they dread, and what they believe; and why so believing, they so dread; and what, above all, it is, that they mean to build upon the ruins of what they seek to cast down; and what is the amount of their agreement with those whom they join for a present purpose; and how, except there be indeed some vital bond of union among them, they can hope to replace a doctrine which is *certainly* real, certainly influential, certainly productive of the fruits of holiness, charity, self-denial, and all that *seems* like the religion of the Gospel, by any thing equally real, equally influential equally (may I say it without offence?) *evangelical*?

Let it be considered, that the great religious system which, for a long time, bore, and, so far as it comprehended portions (as surely it did) of essential truth, *deserved*, that sacred name; which, in what it contained of high and holy, was, no doubt, God's instrument for awakening us to a sense of our responsibilities, and of infusing life and warmth, where before, it may be feared, was too often the mere cold profession of orthodoxy; let it be considered that this system, once to all appearance so compact, and beyond question so popular and attractive, is now, as a system, manifestly breaking to pieces. What of it is earthly, is finding its level. What of it is earnest, self-denying, and affectionate, is uniting itself with the doctrine of the Catholic Church, which alone, in its completeness, (such as I am far from saying has yet been realized amongst ourselves, and which, when realized, will draw to its side whatever of good amongst us is now kept back by the want of such due developement,) provides an adequate scope, and a reverential direction, for the feelings of devotedness and brotherly love.

Considerations such as these do not, of course, hold good upon the supposition that the Church of England is unambiguous in her witness against the theology in question, and imposes upon her members a clear obligation to withstand it. But to those, who are doubtful upon this point, they may fitly be suggested, in the way, not of an adequate motive, but of a restraining scruple; and not as reasons of

mere expediency, but rather as providential intimations, which, though they cannot avail to overthrow a settled, and fully realized, conclusion, may well create a presumption against an ill-defined view, or come in arrest of a headlong judgment, or remove (which is rather their bearing upon the subject of these remarks) a preliminary obstacle to the examination of the proper evidence.

I will only add, that the following extracts by no means pretend to be more than *specimens* of the teaching of English divines upon the points in question. And, again, that, while taking to myself the undivided responsibility of the present publication, I desire to express my sincere thanks to the Rev. J. S. Brewer, of King's College, for the assistance I have received from him in collecting materials; and to my much-esteemed coadjutor in the ministrations of Margaret Chapel, the Rev. W. U. Richards, for the advantages I have derived through his official connexion with the British Museum.

London,
July 8, 1841.

It being quite beyond the scope of the present undertaking to bear out the interpretation of the Tract upon any other subjects, than those in which it has been most generally questioned, the following extracts will be found to refer chiefly to the doctrines brought forward in the Protest of the Four Tutors, and most frequently dwelt upon in the progress of the controversy, by opponents of the Tract.

I.

THE EUCHARIST A COMMEMORATIVE SACRIFICE FOR
QUICK AND DEAD.

*Bishop Andrewes. Answer to XVIIIth chapter of Card.
Perron.*

“THE Eucharist ever was, and by us is considered, both as a Sacrament, and as a Sacrifice. 2. A Sacrifice is proper and appliable only to divine worship. 3. The Sacrifice of Christ’s death did succeed to the sacrifices of the Old Testament. 4. The Sacrifice of Christ’s death is available for present, absent, living, dead, (yea, for them that are yet unborn). 5. When we say the dead, we mean, it is available for the Apostles, Martyrs, and Confessors, and all, (because we are all members of one Body): these no man will deny.

“In a word, we hold with Saint Augustine in the very same chapter which the Cardinal citeth, ‘quod hujus Sacrificii caro et sanguis, ante adventum Christi, per victimas similitudinum promittebatur; in Passione Christi, per ipsam veritatem reddebatur; post adventum Christi, per Sacramentum memoriæ celebratur¹.’”

Farther on :

“If we agree about the matter of Sacrifice, there will be no difference about the Altar. The holy Eucharist being considered as a Sacrifice, (in the representation of the breaking the Bread, and pouring forth the Cup,) the same is fitly called an Altar : which again is as fitly called a Table, the Eucharist being considered as a Sacrament, which is nothing else, but a distribution and an application of the Sacrifice to the several receivers. The same Saint Augustine, that, in the place alleged, doth term it an Altar, saith in another place, ‘Christus quotidie pascit. Mensa ipsius est illa in medio constituta. Quid causæ est, ô audientes, ut mensam videatis, et ad epulas non accedatis?’² The same Nyssen, in the place cited, with one breath calleth it *θυσιαστήριον*, that is, an Altar; and *ἱερὰ τράπεζα*, that is, the Holy Table.

“Which is agreeable also to the Scriptures. For, the altar in the Old Testament, is, by Malachi, called ‘mensa Domini³.’ And of the Table in the New Testament, by the Apostle it is said, ‘habemus Altare⁴.’ Which, of what matter it be, whether of stone, as Nyssen⁵; or of wood, as Optatus, it skills not. So that the matter of Altars makes no difference in the face of our Church⁶.”

¹ Aug. de Civitate, lib. 17. c. 20.

² Hom. 46, de Verbis Domini secundum Joannem.

³ Mal. i. 7.

⁴ Heb. xiii.

⁵ Nyssen. de Bapt.

⁶ For additional testimonies of English divines on this subject, see Tracts for the Times, No. 81.

Again, *ibid.* ix.

“For offering and prayer for the dead, there is little to be said against it. It cannot be denied, that it is ancient.”

Thorndike. Just Weights and Measures, pp. 106, 107.

“BUT the practice of the Church in interceding for them (the Dead) at the celebration of the Eucharist, is so general, and so ancient, that it cannot be thought to have come in upon imposture; but that the same aspersion will seem to take hold of the common Christianity.”

Then, after saying (so far with Mr. Newman) that such practice does not imply the “Romish doctrine of Purgatory,” he proceeds:—

“In the meantime, then, what hinders them to receive *comfort and refreshment, rest and peace, and light*, (by the visitation of God, by the consolation of His Spirit, by His good Angels), to sustain them in the expectation of their trial, and the anxieties they are to pass through, during the time of it? And though there be hope for those that are most solicitous to live and die good Christians, that they are in no such suspense, but within the bounds of the heavenly Jerusalem; yet, because their condition is *uncertain*, and where there is *hope of the better, there is fear of the worse*; therefore the Church hath always *assisted them with the prayers of the living* both for their *speedy trial*, (which all blessed souls desire), and for their easy absolution and discharge with glory before God, together with the accomplishment of their happiness in the receiving of their bodies. Now all members of the Church Triumphant in heaven, according to the degree of their favour with God, abound also with love to his Church Militant on earth. And though they know not the necessities of particular persons, without

particular revelation from God; yet they know there are such necessities, so long as the Church is militant on earth. Therefore it is certain, both that they offer continual prayers to God for their necessities, and that their prayers must needs be of great force and effect with God, for the assistance of the Church Militant in this warfare. Which if it be true, the Communion of Saints will necessarily require that all who remain solicitous of their trial, be assisted by the prayers of the living, for present comfort and future rest."

Bishop Forbes. (Considerationes Modestæ, &c. p. 460. et seq. ed. 12mo. 1658.)

"Missam non tantum esse Sacrificium Eucharisticum et honorarium, sed etiam propitiatorium, sano sensu dici posse, recte affirmant Romanenses moderatiores; non quidem ut efficiens propitiationem, et remissionem peccatorum (*quod Sacrificio Crucis proprium est*) sed ut eam jam factam impetrans quomodo oratio, cujus hoc Sacrificium species est, propitiatoria dici potest."

Again, (p. 463.)

"Sacrificium autem hoc Cœnæ non solum propitiatorium esse, ac pro peccatorum quæ a nobis quotidie committuntur, remissione, offerri posse modo prædicto Corpus Dominicum, sed etiam esse impetratorium, omnis generis beneficiorum, ac pro iis etiam rite offerri, licet Scripturæ diserte et expresse non dicant, Patres tamen unanimi consensu Scripturas sic intellexerunt, quemodmodum ab aliis fuse demonstratum est, et Liturgiæ omnes veteres, non semel inter offerendum, orandum præcipiunt pro pace, pro copia fructuum, et pro aliis id genus temporalibus beneficiis, ut nemini ignotum est."

Also, (p. 465.)

"Quod toties hoc cap. Sacrificium quod in Cœna peragi-

tur, non tantum Eucharisticum esse, sed etiam sano sensu propitiatorium, et plurimis *non solum viventibus, sed etiam defunctis*, prodesse, quomodo scilicet oratio, cujus hoc Sacrificium species est, propitiatoria, &c. dici potest, confirmat Bellarm. ipse de Missa, l. ii. c. 5. Sacrificium, inquit, simile est orationi, quod attinet ad efficientiam; oratio enim non solum prodest oranti, sed etiam iis, pro quibus oratur. Unde manducatio Eucharistiæ quæ fit a Sacerdote, ut est Sacramenti susceptio, soli sumentis prodest, ut autem est Sacrificii consummatio, prodest illis omnibus, pro quibus oblatum est Sacrificium.”

Again, (*ib.* p. 267.)

“Mos orandi et offerendi pro defunctis antiquissimus et in universa Christi Ecclesia ab ipsis ferme Apostolorum temporibus receptissimus, ne amplius a Protestantibus ut illicitus, vel saltem ut inutilis, rejiciatur,” &c.

And (on the especial subject of Prayers for the Dead.);

Spinckes. Observations on Essay towards Catholic Communion, p. 103.

“Having already written and published a ‘Discourse of Prayers for the Dead’ . . . and I think sufficiently proved the practice and tradition thereof in the Church, truly Catholic, I shall here only add to what I before and this author here have written, that, besides the authors mentioned already, the learned and devout Bishop Andrewes was of the same opinion, as appears by his ‘Private Devotions,’ printed at the Theatre at Oxford, in Greek and Latin, licensed by Dr. Bathurst, Vice-chancellor, 1673, and commended in the Epistle to the reader as having in it no heresy or dangerous opinion, but that he may safely read it all, and repeat it as his own a thousand times before God. Wherein besides what may be observed elsewhere, he prays

in this manner, ‘Thou who art Lord, both of the living and of the dead Give to the living mercy and grace, and to *the dead rest and light perpetual*’⁶.

“To censure prayers for the dead, because not expressly enjoined in the Scriptures, is inconsistent with the doctrine of the Scriptures themselves (2 Thess. ii. 15. 1 Cor. vii. 17, &c.) and with reason, because the Christian religion being planted in all places by word, order, and practice, and *no where by writing*, and planted by so many several persons, in so many several places, and *all agreeing in the use of it in the most solemn part of the Christian worship from the beginning, and so unanimously, that I never yet could meet with any competent evidence of any one Church which ever received it after their first foundation, or from any other than their founders. So that it stands upon equal evidence with the Scriptures themselves.*”

II.

INVOCATION OF SAINTS.

Bishop Mountague. Invocation of Saints, p. 58.

“IT is true, and must not be denied, the Roman Church in her *doctrine* (for, and concerning *practice*, it is other-

⁶ These, it need hardly be observed, are the words of the Breviary, “*Requiem æternam dona eis, Domine, et Lux perpetua illuceat eis.*”

The following prayer for departed benefactors, in whose kind offices we constantly participate, (from the “Benediction of the Board” in the Roman Breviary, where its meaning is illustrated by the context,) is still kept up in one of our Colleges:—

“*Retribuere dignare, Domine, omnibus, nobis bona facientibus, propter Nomen Tuum vitam æternam.*”

wise) doth not impair, or impeach the sure, firm, and fastest mediation, the peculiar work of Christ Jesus, or appoint propitiators in his place, who alone, as Allsufficient, paid the price of our redemption, and made up without assistants or concurrents, the alone, absolute Atonement, by His real and perfect Satisfaction, betwixt God and man. . . .

It is false which is imputed, if yet it be imputed, and laid unto their charges, *that they have many gods, or many lords*. That they call upon Saints, as upon God, to help them. That they mention not Christ, but Saints, in their devotions. They do not deny *Call upon me*. In their doctrine and opinion, Invocation is peculiar unto God alone, as a part of the eternal moral duty which man ever doth owe unto God, his Maker and Protector in all his ways. Invocation, I mean, in a proper sense; it is Advocation and Intercession only which they give unto Saints; *which act is sometimes called Invocation in a large extent*, as it passeth, and is directed, from man to them. Their help, with David, only standeth in the Name of the Lord, who hath made both heaven and earth.

“ For better evidence in this point, the question controverted *inter partes*, may be limited, or rather explained, thus.—Invocation, as was touched, is a word of ambiguous signification; as most words are, because there are more things than words, subsistances than names to call them by. It is taken specially for to *call upon Me*, as Him upon whom we absolutely rely: at least *ultimate*⁷ in that kind. It is also used for to *call unto*, as to helps, assistants, or advocates in suit, when in time of trouble and necessity we have cause to come and call on God, directing our prayers ever *prima intentione* unto Him. When, therefore, we talk of Invocation of Saints, and dispute concerning Praying

⁷ Cf. Sancta Clara, ut sup. p. 39.

unto Saints, we must understand Invocation so, as directed unto them only, as assistants, and mediators only of intercession; and therefore not to be invocated, or called upon, *in the same sense and terms* as God Almighty is, the Author and Donor of every good giving: nor to be implored as Christ Jesus is, the only Mediator of redemption and Meritorious Advocate of intercession. Therefore, having occasion and cause to *call Me in time of trouble*, they employ not *te ad me*, man unto God, immediately, but do it *secundario*, and *by mediators*. This is not unlawful in itself.

Bishop Forbes, (ut supra, p. 299, 230).

“Nudam angelorum et sanctorum compellationem qua moneantur et invitentur, ut nobiscum, et pro nobis, Deum orent, (quomodo a piis hic viventibus petimus, ut pro nobis apud Deum intercedant, suas preces nostris jungant, iisdemque nostram salutem sedulo commendent,) cum Protestantibus iis, qui paulo cautius et distinctius aliis in hoc argumento loqui amant, Advocationem potius quam Invocationem [a *calling unto*, rather than a *calling upon*⁸,] appellamus. . . . Advocationem appellare malunt R. Montacutus, [vid. sup.] J. Usserius, Arch. Armach. cont. Jesuit., ut alios omittam. Alioqui, in *significatione vocis lata*, nihil vetat Invocationem appellari.”

Again (quoting Bishop Montague), p. 327.

“R. Montacutus respondens ad factum Justinæ Virginis a Nazianzeno (orat. in Cyprianum) memoratum, ‘Si illi (Rom. sc.) hoc facerent ipsimet, et proselytos docerent facere quod fecit virgo hæc, ad Deum scilicet, et Christum primo confugere, et deinceps ex abundantia sive ad-

⁸ His own words.

juverit, sive non adjuverit, in auxilium vocare B. V. Mariam, S. Petrum, &c. εἴ τις ἀσθῆσις, ut loquitur Naz. &c. non contenderemus. In Eccl. Rom. praxi res longe aliter se habet¹.”

III.

REVERENCE DUE TO IMAGES AND RELICS.

Bishop Mountague.

“PINGITE, sequemur. Sculpite, suspicimus; Abrahami sacrificaturientis imaginem, Christi in Cruce pendentis Passionem, typum, illum, hoc, complementum. Quis negat?”

¹ The following words in the Morning Prayer of Bishop Andrewes border very closely upon Invocations to Angels and Saints *for aid, and spiritual strength.*

Angelum pacis, fidum ducem,
 Custodem animarum et corporum
 Castrametantem in circuitu meo
 Et mihi salutaria semper *suggerentem*,
 Concede, Domine.

To this may be added Bishop Ken's prayer (quoted in the 2nd edition of Tract 90), that the guardian angel may

“His love angelical *instil.*”

But too much stress ought not to be laid upon the words of metrical Hymns *on either side.*

To go to quite a different subject, what Roman Catholic would express himself more strongly than the judicious and popular George Herbert on the subject of the Real Presence?

“At Communion times the Priest is in great confusion, as being *not only to receive God, but to break and administer HIM.*”—Country Parson, C. xxii.

nos imitamur in Ecclesiis nostris; intuemur libenter, et usurpamus oculis; ex intuitu ad συμπάθειαν commovemur, et ad detestationi conjunctam σύννεξιν de peccatis nostris, in Judæos vehementius inflamamur; Christi passionum tormentis compatimur, et simul in memoriam revocamus non fuisse dolorem sicut dolorem Ejus; Cujus illa, ut Græci in suis liturgicis loquuntur, ἄγνωστα παθήματα, vocem illam dolorificam expresserunt, ‘Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid Me dereliquisti?’ atque hinc ab intuitu isto invitati ad amandum amore nostro amorem Illius excitamur, Qui propter amorem nostri, ut Augustinus loquitur, semetipsum ἐκένωσεν, exinanivit. . . . Hæc et hujusmodi nemo nostrum negat, saltem negare nemo potest, ex intuitu efficacius ad animum et intimos cordium affectus descendere, eoque magis commendantur, in usu posita quotidiano, quo, tardiores cum sinus ad hæc magnalia Dei recolenda, pluribus indigemus et efficacissimis adjumentis.”—Orig. Eccles. vol. ii. p. 102.

“The Church of England condemneth not the historical use of Images. The Homily that seems to condemn all making of Images is to be understood with a restriction of making them to an unlawful end.”—Appello Cæsarem, p. 258.

“Civilem usum [imaginum] ac moralem statuo ad intuitum ac invitationem, nullum religiosum ad adorationem; an vero ad intuitum et invitationem constituerentur in locis sacris et sacratis conventibus destinatis, sunt qui negant, ex Origene, Arnobio, Minutio Felice; sed non persuadent. Successerunt tempora, cum frequentius in templis locarentur; sed tantum ad intuitum et invitationem. Tempora illa laudamus, et imitamur. Admiramur ingentes illas animas quæ, ceu luminaria, orbem ecclesiasticum illustrarunt, et cum Carolo Magno ad Hadrianum primum, ‘permittimus Sanctorum Imagines, quicumque eas formare voluerit, tam in Ecclesia

quam extra, propter amorem Dei, et Sanctorum Ejus; adorare prohibemus; frangere vel destruere eas etiamsi quis voluerit, non permittimus.' Hæc ille Carolus Magnus. Hæc ille, ita nos." — Origines Ecclesiasticæ², vol. ii. p. 102.

Thorndike.

"Now, granting that Epiphanius and the Council of Elvira did hold all Images in churches dangerous for idolatry, (of which there is appearance,) it is manifest that they were afterwards admitted all over. And there might be *jealousy of offence in having Images in churches before idolatry was quite rooted out, of which afterwards there might be no appearance*³. But no manner of appearance that images in history should occasion idolatry to those Images in them that hold them the Images of God's creatures, such as are those Images which represent histories of the Saints, out of the Scriptures, or other relations of unquestionable credit. The second Council of Nicee seems to have brought in, or authorized, addresses to solitary Images of Saints, placed upon pillars for that purpose; whereof there is much mention in the records of it. But to the Images of Saints, there can be no idolatry, so long as men take them for Saints, that is God's creatures, much less to the Images of

² This was his last work, published several years after his acquittal by the Bishops.

³ This view, (intimated also by Bishop Mountague in the preceding passage) seems to meet the objection which has been drawn against the use of Images in later times of the Church, from the disuse of them in the earlier. Surely the Church has power to order all such matters according to circumstances, and, in such cases, her practice at any one particular time (though, accidentally, more ancient) will be no guide whatever for other times.

our Lord. For it is the honour of our Lord, and not of His image.

“For indeed and in truth, *it is not the Image, but the Principal, that is honoured, by the honour that is said to be done to the Image*, because it is done before the Image. The fountain and utensils of the Church were honoured, in the spotless times of the Church, as consecrated to God’s service; though the honour of them, being incapable of honour for themselves, was manifestly, and without any scruple, the honour of God. But Images, so long as they were used to no farther intent than the ornament of churches, the remembrance of holy histories, and the raising of devotion; thereby, (as at the first they were used by the Church,) came in the number of things consecrated to God’s service. And that Council was never of force in the West till the usurped power of the Pope brought it in by force. Nor did the Western Church, when it refused the Council, discharge the having of Images in churches upon those reasons, and to those purposes which I have declared. So far they remain still justifiable. For he that *sees the whole Church on the one side, and only Calvin on the other side*, hath he not cause to fear, that they who *make them idolaters without cause will themselves appear schismatics* in the sight of God for it? For what are they else, who please themselves in a strange kind of *negative superstition*, that they cannot serve God, if they serve Him with visible signs of reverence? Who hate the Images because they hate the Saints themselves and their Christianity? And, therefore, that it be not thought that we are tied to those terms of distance, which ignorant preachers drive their factions with; it is necessary to declare the grounds of truth, though it displease.”—“Just Weights and Measures,” p. 127.

Bishop Andrewes.

“For these Relics (were we sure they were true and uncounterfeit) we would carry to them the regard that becometh us. But the Cardinal himself will not say, that St. Hierome ever meant to *adore* the ashes of St. John the Baptist. St. Jerome opposed Vigilantius, that used reproachful terms to the ashes and relics of Martyrs, calling them ‘vilem pulvisculum,’ &c., for which he was, and was to be, justly censured.

“And (even) the carrying them about in linen cloths and kissing them we would rather *bear with, and excuse, as proceeding from popular and private devotion*, than commend.”—“Answer to XVIIIth Chapter of Cardinal Perron.” No. vii.

Bishop Mountague.

“Reliquias ipsorum, lipsana, cimelia, deposita, si quæ sint, quæ ad nostram notitiam pervenerint, si quæ nancisci poterimus genuina, non fucata, libenter suscipimus, et *veneratione sua debita, congrua, honoramus*; constet autem hoc, et facile conveniet inter nos de Sanctorum Reliquiis venerandis.”—Orig. Eccl. vol. i. p. 39.

“Magnam certe gratiam ab Ecclesia Christi et partibus inter se contendentibus is vel illi inirent, qui docerent, quousque progredi *in hoc Sanctorum cultu et lipsanodoulia* possimus, sine justo scandalo, animæ periculo, naufragio pietatis et religionis.”—Ibid. p. 40.

“Ossa Sanctorum, cineres, reliquias, vase aureo, velamine pretioso, convolvebant. *Ego certe cum Constantino* illas Reliquias fasciis involvam, auro includam, circumgestandas; admovebo labiis, ac collo suspensas, manibus oculisque crebro usurpatas intuebor.”—“Antidiatriba,” p. 17.

IV.

INTERMEDIATE STATE OF PURIFICATION.

Bishop Forbes.

“AD controversiam hanc tollendam, vel saltem minuendam, Romanenses opinionem suam de Purgatorio *punitivo* quum nullis certis fundamentis, nec in Scripturis, nec in primorum seculorum Patribus, nec in priscis conciliis, nitatur, ut supra demonstratum est, pro fidei articulo nec habeant ipsimet, neque aliis obtrudant. Protestantes etiam, quibus opinio ista improbatur, et quidem jure meritoque, hæreseos tamen, aut impietatis, apertè eandem ne damnent. Sententiæ autem communi Græcorum, atque etiam quorundam virorum doctorum in Latinâ Ecclesiâ de Purgatorio *expiatorio*, (quod solum Purgatorii nomen proprie loquendo meretur,) in quo, sine pœnis gehennalibus, animæ Sanctorum, quorum quasi media quædam conditio est, in cœlis quidem, sed in cœlorum loco, soli Deo noto, magis magisque usque ad diem visionis Dei claræ fruentes conspectu et consortio humanitatis Christi et sanctorum angelorum, perficiunt se in Dei charitate per fervida et morosa suspiria, ut supra dictum est, neutri pertinaciter oblucentur. Suâ enim, atque eâ quidem haud exiguâ probabilitate minime destituitur.”—Consid. Mod. &c. p. 266.

V.

THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

Bishop Andrewes.

“WE deny not but that the title of Sacrament hath sometimes been given by the Fathers unto all the Five in a larger

signification. But so also to many things more ; the whole matter is a mere *λογομαχία*.”—Answer to Card. Perron.

Thorndike.

“ But for the justifying of ceremonies, why should I allege any thing but those Offices of the Church which the Fathers have called Sacraments, as well as Baptism and the Eucharist? . . . That which I am to say of them here, consists of two points. That they are offices necessary to be ministered to all Christians concerned in them ; and that they are to be solemnized with those ceremonies, for which they are, without any cause of offence, called Sacraments by the Fathers of the Church.”—Just Weights and Measures, p. 118.

Then he proceeds :

“ 1. (CONFIRMATION.) The gift of the Holy Ghost which Baptism promiseth, dependeth upon the Bishop’s blessing.

“ 2. (ORDERS.) If the profession of Christianity infer the grace of Baptism, shall not the profession of that Christianity which the state of the Clergy in general, or that particular degree to which every man is ordained, importeth, infer the grace which the discharge of it requireth ?

“ 3. (PENANCE.) If a Christian, after Baptism, fall into any grievous sin, voiding the effect of Baptism, can it fall within the sense of a Christian to imagine, that he can be restored by a *Lord have mercy upon me* ? No ; it must cost him hot tears, &c., with fasting and alms, *to take revenge upon himself, to appease God’s wrath, and to mortify his concupiscence if his sin be notorious he must then satisfy the Church, that he doth what is requisite to satisfy God ; that is, to appease His wrath, and to recover*

His grace, &c. If it be the Power of the Keys that makes the Church, *it will be hard to show the face of a Church*, where the blessing of the Church, and the Communion of the Eucharist is granted, and yet no Power of the Keys at all exercised. Nay, it will appear a lamentable case, to consider, how simple innocent Christians are led on till death in an opinion, that they want nothing requisite for the pardon and absolution of their sins, when it is manifest that they want the Keys of the Church, as it is manifest, that the Keys are not used for that purpose.

“4. (EXTREME UNCTION.) St. James ordaineth that the Presbyters of every Church pray for the sick with a promise of pardon for their sins He requireth them also to *anoint the sick with oil*, promising recovery upon it. Neither is there any cause why the same benefit should not be expected, but the decay of Christianity in the Church. So the unction of the sick is to recover health, not prepare for death, (as the Church of Rome now useth it,) but supposing the health of the soul restored by the Keys of the Church.

5. “(MARRIAGE.) As for Marriage, the solemnity of the blessing, the ring, the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which, *according to the custom of the whole Church*, it ought to be ministered with, will easily make it a Sacrament.”

Bishop Mountague.

“Bellarmine saith that Calvin admitteth Ordination for a Sacrament. And Bellarmine doth not belie Calvin, for he doth so indeed. *Impositionem manuum Sacramentum esse concedo.* (l. iv. c. xix. s. 31.) How that is he expresseth himself, (ib. c. iv. s. 20.) *non invitus patior vocari Sacramentum inter ordinaria Sacramenta, non numero.* No Papist living, I think, will say, or desire, more. It is not for *all*, but for

some. Which saying of his is semblably expressed in that short, small, but perfect, Catechism in our Communion Book, where is said Two *only, as generally necessary, &c.* not excluding others from that *name* and *designation*, though from the *prerogative* and *degree.*—Appello Cæs. e. xxxiii.—(Points of Popery.)

GENERAL COUNCILS.

Bishop Mountague.

“THE Church of England may seem to have been of a contrary mind in her determinations; and to have taught, and prescribed to be so taught, that such General Councils, true and lawful, not only may err for possibility, but also have erred in reality. For Article xxi. we read thus: “General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes. And when they be gathered together, for as much as they be an assembly of men, whercof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God, they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things appertaining unto God.” Which decision of the Article is not home to this purpose. First, The Article avoucheth, that General Councils have erred: which cannot be understood of my limitation, fundamentals; because there is no such Extat of any General Council, true and lawful. Secondly, things appertaining unto God are not all fundamentals; but points of piety, God’s service, and religion, which admit a very large interpretation. For many things appertain unto God, that are not of necessity unto salvation, both in practice and speculation. In these haply General Councils have erred; in those other, none can err. The Council of Nice determined the controversy of Easter: it was not fundamental. I put the case, that in it they erred. It was a thing appertaining unto God, in His service: this may come under the sense and censure

of the Article ; but this toucheth not my opinion concerning only Fundamentals. Thirdly, The Article speaketh at large concerning General Councils, both for debating and deciding. I only spake of the determination : wherein it may be possibly they nor can, nor shall err, that may and have erred in the discussing. In that very Council of Nice, it was an error in debating, though not fundamental, touching that yoke of single life, which they had meant once to have imposed upon the Church : but in conclusion they erred not. Paphnutius gave better advice, and they followed it. The Article may very well have aimed at this difference in Prosecution and Decision, in saying, All are not governed with the Spirit and Word of God, which is most true ; but some are : and those some, in all probability, ever may prevail, as ever hitherto in such Councils in those cases they have prevailed, against the greater part formerly resolved otherwise. Again, The Article speaketh of General Councils indefinitely, without precisely determining which are General, which not ; what is a General Council, what not : and so may, and doth include reputed or pretended General Councils, *unicocè* General, though not exactly and truly indeed (such as was the Council of Ariminum) whereof I did not so much as intend to speak ; my speech being limited with true and lawful : of which sort are not many to be found. Lastly, The Article speaketh of things that are *controverse fidei* and *contentiosi juris*. I speak of things plainly delivered in Holy Scripture : for such are the fundamental points of our faith. And that it is so, the ensuing words of the Article do insinuate ; things necessary unto salvation, must be taken out of Scripture alone. Councils have no such over-awing power and authority, as to tie men to believe, upon pain of damnation, without express warrant of God's Word, as is rightly resolved in the Article. They are but interpreters of the law :

they are not absolute to make such a law. Interpretation is required but in things of doubtful issue: our fundamentals are no such. Councils are supposed not to exceed their commission, which warranteth them to debate and determine questions and things *litigiosi status*. If they do not *hoc agere* sincerely, if they shall presume to make laws without warrant, and new articles of faith, (who have no farther authority than to interpret them,) laws without God's Word, that shall bind the conscience, and require obedience upon life and death; our Church will not justify their proceedings, nor do I."—Appello Cæs. (Points of Popery.)

THE CASE OF BISHOP MOUNTAGUE IN THE REIGN OF
KING JAMES I.

THE following account of the proceedings against Bishop Mountague is taken from the "Biographia Britannica," vol. v. p. 3188.

"In 1622, some Romanists having attempted to proselyte one of his parishioners at Stamford-Rivers, to that Faith; not being able to procure a conference, he sent them three propositions in writing by way of challenge, in defence of the doctrine of the Church of England. In return to these, about eighteen months after, receiving a piece with this title, '*A Gagg for the Gospel,*' he wrote an answer to it, which being published in 1624, some tenets therein advanced raised such a flame against him among the Calvinistical Puritans, that two of the most zealous preachers in that way, at Ipswich, drew up several Articles, charging him with Popery and Arminianism, in order to present them to the Parliament. But our author having procured a copy of that paper, with an information of their design, immediately applied to the King for protection; who gave him leave to defend himself, and also to print his defence, if Dr. White, Dean of Carlisle, should approve his doctrine, as agreeable to that of the Church of England. Under these cautions, his famous treatise, entitled, '*Appello Cæsarem,*' or a '*Just Appeal from two unjust Informers,*' was published in 1625, soon after the accession of king Charles the First to the throne. But the Calvinistical

principles being still warmly espoused, his book was taken under examination by the House of Commons, and several proceedings there were held against him in the two first parliaments of that reign. The divines also published a great number of answers thereto. However, he found means to defeat the attempts of all his opponents ; and, upon the death of one of them, Dr. George Carleton, Bishop of Chichester, in 1628, he was nominated by his Majesty to that see. In which he was confirmed (though not without an extraordinary opposition,) on Friday, August 22nd, that year, and consecrated the Sunday following at Croydon. He was allowed to hold the rectory of Petworth, of which he had been possessed some years *in commendam* ; and having obtained a special pardon from his Majesty, he applied himself closely to his favourite study of Church antiquities, and first published his '*Originum Ecclesiasticarum Apparatus*,' at Oxford, 1635 ; which was followed in 1636 by his '*Originum Ecclesiasticarum tomus primus*.' In 1638, upon the promotion of Dr. Matthew Wren to Ely, our author was translated to Norwich."

In the notes to the above passage is contained a particular account of the several tenets objected to Bishop Mountague, with the grounds of the objection. It is as follows :

“ Those [objectionable statements] touching popery were,
 1. That the Church representative cannot err, p. 45. 2. That the Fathers did not any way fail, nor did darkness possess their clear understandings, chap. viii. p. 113. 3. He calleth the doctrine of the invisibility of the Church a private opinion, no doctrinal decision of the Protestants. 4. That the Bishop of Rome personally is not Antichrist, nor yet the Bishops of Rome successively are that Anti-

christ, *magnus ille Antichristus*. 5. That a sinner is justified when he is made just, that is, translated from a state of nature to a state of grace, which act is motion, as they speak, between two terms, consisting in forgiveness of sins primarily, and grace infused secondarily, in which doctrine of Justification he accordeth fully with the Council of Trent, (Sess. vi. chap. 37.) and contradicteth the doctrine of the Church of England in the book of Homilies, (Sermon of Salvation,) and all other reformed Churches. 6. He so extends *meritum ex condigno*, that he would make men believe there is no material difference betwixt us and the Papists, in this point. 7. That touching evangelical counsels, he saith, ‘I know no doctrine of our English Church against them.’ 8. That howsoever in words he denieth *limbus patrum*; yet thus he writeth, ‘The Patriarchs, Prophets, and Fathers, that lived and died before Christ, the Scripture resolveth they were not there, where now they are, in the highest heavens, there where the glorified body of Christ is now residing, at the right hand of God.’ chap. xli. p. 27. 9. Touching Images he writeth thus: ‘Images have three uses assigned by your schools; stay there, go no farther, and we charge you not with idolatry. *Institutionem rudium, commonefactionem historiarum, et exercitationem devotionis*, you and we also give unto them. (chap. xliii. p. 300, 301.) Images in Gregory’s times were very much improved, to be books for the simple and ignorant people; hold you there, and we blame you not:’ and a little after, ‘Images are not utterly unlawful unto Christians in all manner of religious employment. The pictures of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and Saints, may be made, and had in houses, and set up in churches. The Protestants have them, they despight them not; respect and honour may be given unto them. Protestants do it, and use them for helps of piety,’ (which directly contradicteth the doctrine of the Church of England in the book of Homilies.)

10. Of signing our children only in Baptism with the sign of the cross, he speaketh very superstitiously. 'We use signing with the sign of the cross, both on the forehead, and elsewhere. Caro signatur ut anima muniatur, said Tertulian, and so we. Chap. 46, he citeth and approveth the testimony of one of them,' (Athanas. de Incarn. Verbi, p. 61.) 'By the sign of the cross of Christ all magic spells are disappointed, witchcraft and sorcery cometh to nothing; all idols are confounded and forsaken.' 'He professeth that he knoweth no cause of such distraction and disaffection betwixt us and the Papists, for the reverent use of signing with the sign of the cross.' Chap. viii. p. 60. He saith, 'Joshua prevailed against Amalek through the sign of the cross, rather than by the sword.' 11. Of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, he writeth very popishly; for first he calleth the Supper of the Lord, in express terms, *the Sacrament of the Altar*, and afterwards, more fully: 'But that you were bred up,' says he, 'in a faction, otherwise you would acknowledge there need be no difference betwixt the Papists and us in the point of Real Presence,' p. 253. And again, 'No man denieth a change, an alteration, a *transmutation*, a *transelementation*, as they speak.' 12. Touching confession, 'We require,' says he, 'men to make special Confession, if they find their consciences troubled with any matter, either when they be sick, or before receiving of the Lord's Supper;' his words are, 'in the case of perplexity, for the quieting of men disturbed in their consciences.' 13. He taketh no exception to his adversary for calling it [Ordination] *the Sacrament of Holy Orders*. But denieth our Church to hold any such opinion, as that no inferior grace is given by imposition of hands in the Sacrament of Holy Orders, chap. xxviii. p. 269. 14. Touching the power of the Priest to forgive sins, 'this is the doctrine,' saith he, 'of our Communion book, and the practice of our Church

accordingly, that the Priests have power not only to pronounce, but to give, remission of sins, chap. xi. p. 78, 79. And it is confessed, that all Priests, and none but Priests have power to forgive sin.’ ”

Then follow the several heads of allegation.

“ After a preamble containing the charge in general from his three books, ‘ *An Answer to the late Gagg of the Protestants,*’ ‘ *A Treatise of the Invocation of Saints,*’ and ‘ *Appello Cæsarem,*’ as contrary to the Articles of 1562, it begins thus : ‘ Article 1. Whereas in the thirty-fifth of the Articles abovementioned, it is declared that the second book of the Homilies doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, in the tenth homily of which book it is determined, that the Church of Rome, as it is at present, and hath been for the space of nine hundred years and upwards, is so far gone from the nature of a true Church, that nothing can be more ; he, the said R. Mountague, in several places of his said book, called ‘ *An Answer to the Gagger,*’ chap. v. p. 49. and in his other book, called ‘ *Appello,*’ &c. doth advisedly maintain and affirm, that the Church of Rome is, and ever was, a true Church since it was a Church. Article 2. Whereas in the said homily, it is likewise declared, that the Church of Rome is not built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles ; and in the twenty-eighth of said Articles, that Transubstantiation overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament ; and in the twenty-fifth of the said Articles, that Five other reputed Sacraments of the Church of Rome are not to be accounted Sacraments : yet *contrary,* and *repugnant hereunto,* he, the said Richard Mountague, doth maintain and affirm in his book aforesaid, called the ‘ *Answer to the Gagg,*’ p. 50, that the Church of Rome hath ever remained firm upon the same Foundation of Sacraments and Doctrine instituted by God. Article 3.

Thirdly, in the nineteenth of the same Articles, it is further determined, that the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their use and manner of ceremonies, but also in matter of faith. He, the said Richard Mountague, speaking of those points which belong to faith and manners, hope and charity, doth in the same book, called the ‘Gagger,’ p. 14, affirm and maintain, that none of those are controverted *inter partes*, meaning the Protestants and the Papists; and that notwithstanding, in the thirty-fourth Article it is resolved, that the sacrifices of masses, in which, as is commonly said, the Priests did offer Christ for the quick and dead, to have remission of pain and guilt too, are blasphemous follies and dangerous deceits: this being one of the points controverted between the Church of England and the Church of Rome; the said Richard Mountague, in his book called the ‘Gagger,’ p. 14, doth affirm and maintain, that the controverted points are of a less and inferior allay: of them a man may be ignorant, without any danger of his salvation; a man may resolve, or oppose this, or that, or any, without peril of perishing for ever. Article 4. Whereas, in the third homily, intituled, ‘Against peril of Idolatry,’ it is declared that Images read no good lesson neither of God nor godliness, but all error and wickedness; he, the said Richard, in the book aforesaid, called the ‘Answer to the late Gagger,’ p. 38, doth affirm and maintain, that Images may be used for the instruction of the ignorant, and excitation of devotion. Article 5. That in the same it is plainly expressed, that the attributing the defence of some countries to Saints, is a spoiling God of his honour, and that such Saints are but *as Diï Tutelares* of the Gentile idolaters, the said Richard Mountague, hath, notwithstanding, in the book aforementioned, affirmed and maintained, that Saints have not only a memory, but a more peculiar charge of their friends, and that it may be admitted, that some Saints

have a peculiar patronage, custody, protection, and power, as Angels also have over certain persons and countries, by especial deputation, and that it is no impiety so to believe.

.....

“Item. ‘The scope and end of the said Richard Mountague in the books aforementioned, is to give encouragement to Popery, and to withdraw his Majesty’s subjects from the true religion established to the Roman superstition; and, consequently, to be reconciled to the see of Rome. All which he laboureth by subtle and cunning ways; whereby God’s true religion hath been much scandalized; and those mischiefs introduced, which the wisdom of many laws hath endeavoured to prevent, to the great peril and hazard of our sovereign lord the king, and of all his dominions and loving subjects. Lastly, that the aforesaid Richard Mountague hath, in the aforesaid book, called the ‘Appeal,’ divers passage dishonourable to the late king and his Majesty’s father, of famous memory; full of bitterness, railing, and injurious to several other persons; disgraceful and contemptuous to many worthy divines, both of this Church of England, and other reformed Churches beyond the seas; impious and profane in scoffing at preaching, meditating, conferring, pulpits, lectures, bibles, and all show of religion: all which do aggravate his former offences, as having proceeded from malicious and envenomed hate against the peace of this Church, and sincerity of the reformed religion publicly professed, and by law established in this kingdom.

“ ‘All which offences being to the high dishonour of Almighty God, and of most mischievous effect and consequence against the good of His Church and common weal of England, and of all his Majesty’s realms and dominions; The Commons assembled in parliament do hereby pray, that the said Richard Mountague may be punished according to his demerits, in that exemplary manner as may deter

others from attempting so presumptuously to disturb the peace of Church and State, and that the books aforesaid may be suppressed and burnt.' ”

In reference to the foregoing history, it is important to observe: 1. That the persons who brought these charges against Bishop Mountague were *Puritans*; and that the whole proceeding was one of the earlier stages of a movement which issued in the Great Rebellion. 2. That, accordingly, it was *Arminianism*, as well as, and rather than, “Popery,” which was objected. 3. That the proceedings were instituted not by the Church, but by *the House of Commons*. 4. That the allegations were founded in part upon a book (the *Appello Cæsarem*,) written by Bishop Mountague *in his own vindication*, and consequently with peculiar caution, and with the *utmost degree of qualification* which he could conscientiously make. In this treatise, so far from retracting, or explaining away, previous statements, he is found, (like the writer of Tract 90., in his explanations to Dr. Jelf and the Bishop of Oxford,) to *repeat*, and *maintain*, them. 5. That *contrariety to the Articles and Homilies* is the ground of charge.

It remains only to narrate the result. The king, at the instance of the House of Commons, laid the whole matter before a Committee of the Bishops, consisting of the following :

George Montaigne, Bishop of London.

Richard Neyle, Bishop of Durham.

Launcelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester.

John Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester, (President of St. John's College, Oxford.)

William Laud, Bishop of St. David's, (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.)¹

The letter containing the judgment of this body of representative Prelates, is preserved in the British Museum, (Harl. MS. 7000. Art. 104.) The following is an exact copy:—

“To the Right Honourable, our very good Lord, the Duke of Buckingham, his Grace.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ Upon your late Letters, directed to the Bishop of Winchester, signifying his Majesties pleasure, that taking to Him the Bishops of London, Durham, Rochester, Oxford, and St. David's, or some of them, He and They should take into consideration the busines concerning Mr. Mountagu's late Booke, and deliver their opinions touching the same, for the preservation of the truth and the peace of the Church of England, together with the safetie of Mr. Mountagu's person; We have met and considered, and for our particulars doe think that Mr. Mountagu, in his Booke, hath not affirmed any thing to be the doctrine of the Church of England, but that which in our opinions is the doctrine of the Church of England, or agreeable thereunto. And for the preservation of the peace of the Church, wee

¹ It is remarkable that the decision in the case of Bishop Mountague was pronounced by a body, constituted precisely in the same way with that which *originally* sanctioned the Thirty-nine Articles; viz. a Committee of Bishops, nominated by the king.

in humilitie doe conceive, That his Majestic shall doe most graciously to prohibite all parties members of the Church of England any further controverting of those questions by publick preaching, or writing, or any other way, to the disturbance of the peace of this Church, for the time to come. And for any thing that may further concerne Mr. Mountagu's person in that busines, we humbly commend him to his Majesties gracious favour and pardon. And so we humbly recommend your Grace to the protection of the Almighty, resting

“ Your Grace's faithfull and humble Servants,

(Signed) “ GEO. LONDON.
R. DUNELM.
LA. WINTON.
JO. ROFFENS.
GUIL. MENEVE.”

“ From Winchester House,
January 16, 1625.”

A D D E N D A.

Page 14. Note.

The words in this extract, which declare that Roman Catholics were not pressed at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth to "join" her "sect" or "deny their Faith," undoubtedly intimate *the writer's opinion*, that the former of these acts would have been tantamount to the latter, and so far make against the present view. However, *the fact* was not as he states, for, as is shown farther on, the Roman Catholics *were* pressed to subscribe the Articles, and did subscribe them.

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It has been customary with writers who have been offended by the Catholic tone of the Prayer-book (e. g. the Athanasian Creed, or parts of the Baptismal service) to contend that the Reformers yielded, in such matters, to the "prejudices of their time." This view has been put forth, especially, by the late Mr. Scott, of Aston Sandford. Again, a Clergyman of the Established Church, in our own days, whose zeal all must respect, has proposed to *bracket* certain expressions in the office for the Visitation of the Sick, &c., as at least "*equivocal*," "*unwise*," &c. (See Brit. Mag., No. cxvi. July 1841.) All this is to the present point.

Page 27.

It may be observed that Mr. Newman, in his view of the subject of the Papal Supremacy, does not deny, that union with the rest of Christendom under one visible government is the most perfect state of the Church, but only that it is *essential to the very being*

of a Church. The distinction is clearly pointed out in a very interesting and striking letter, which has lately appeared in *l' Univers*, with the signature, "Un jeune membre de L' Université d'Oxford." The genuineness of this letter has, I believe, been questioned, but, I may add, without the slightest foundation.

"La Papauté . . . est plutôt la forme accidentelle, que la forme essentielle, de l'Eglise ; c' est à dire, elle ressemble plutôt à la *chaleur*, qu' à la *vie*, de l'Eglise."

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In saying that there is no instance of any political enactment, bearing upon Catholic doctrine, "between the Reformation and Revolution," I have named too wide an interval. The first attempt made, on the part of the State, to interfere with *doctrine*, was, I believe, in 1673, when the Test Act, and Declarations against Transubstantiation and Invocation of Saints, on the ground of idolatry, were introduced as a qualification for offices of trust. These securities, as Mr. Hallam observes in his "Constitutional History of England," were added in consequence of the Oath of Supremacy being found ineffectual ; not, then, from *religious*, but from purely *political* motives ; the State thus venturing to tamper with the holiest of subjects for its own subordinate ends. The new restrictions were forced upon the court by what is called the "country party," termed, as Mr. Hallam tells us, (vol. ii. p. 525.) by the court, *factionous*, *fanatical*, and *republican*. In 1679 the same declaration was imposed upon members of both Houses of Parliament, at the time of taking their seats. Between these two periods, Mr. Hallam says, "the clergy in their sermons, even the most respectable of their order, Sancroft, Sharpe, Barlow, Burnet, Stillingfleet, called for the severest laws against Catholics" (in consequence of Titus Oates's plot). On the other hand, however, the essay noticed in this pamphlet ("Considerations on the True Way of suppressing Popery, &c.") was published during this interval, with the view of opposing the attempt to put any restriction at all upon *loyal*

Roman Catholics. This essay is commonly attributed to Bishop Barlow, although the name of that prelate is in Mr. Hallam's list. But, whatever may have been the sentiments of the clergy, certain it is that the measures of 1679 emanated from no quarter in which they exercised influence, but, as Mr. Hallam tells us, (p. 580.) from the "popular party¹." Nothing more was done till the year 1700, when an attempt was made to enforce the above-mentioned Declaration upon the children of Roman Catholics, at the age of 18, as a condition of the tenure of landed property.

Page 29. Note.

"The fate of this rubric is worthy of notice. It was excluded by Queen Elizabeth in 1559; and its removal clearly shows, that the *Church could not then be brought to express an opinion adverse to the Real Presence*. It was restored in 1661, on the revision of King Charles II.; and its *reappearance may likewise be employed to show*, that the Church, at that time also, was unwilling to make any declaration on that important tenet. *To prevent misapprehension on this point*, the words 'real and essential' . . . were altered into *the very different expression*, 'corporal.'"—Dr. Cardwell, "History of Conferences," p. 35, note.

¹ It is curious that Mr. Hallam, in a note on this subject, draws the same distinction, for which Mr. Newman has been so much blamed, between the Roman doctrine and practice, and seems to justify assent to the Declaration then imposed on the part of an individual, prepared to condemn the *latter* alone. "Invocation of Saints," he says, "as held and explained by that Church in the Council of Trent, is surely not idolatrous, with whatever error it may be charged; but the practice at least of uneducated Roman Catholics seems *fully to justify the Declaration*; understanding it to refer to certain superstitions, countenanced, or not eradicated, by their Clergy."

THE END.

THE DOCTRINE

OF THE

CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ENGLAND

ON THE

HOLY EUCHARIST,

ILLUSTRATED BY EXTRACTS FROM HER GREAT DIVINES.

WITH AN APPENDIX

ON VARIOUS OTHER POINTS OF FAITH AND PRACTICE.

OXFORD,

JOHN HENRY PARKER:

J. G. F. AND J. RIVINGTON, LONDON.

MDCCCXLI.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following pages are intended to shew that certain doctrines and practices, particularly the Real Presence of our Blessed Lord in the Holy Eucharist, far from being inconsistent with subscription to the formularies of the Anglican Church, have been openly professed, defended, and authoritatively taught by many of its most illustrious divines. Some of the authors quoted actually took part in the compilation of our formularies, most of them were persons invested with episcopal authority, and all were of such a character as altogether to preclude the suspicion of their having subscribed to articles which they disbelieved, or thought in the slightest degree condemnatory of their principles.

The English Church at present is viewed in a different light by the parties within it, the one regarding it as a mere ecclesiastical body ^a founded three centuries ago by the 'Reformers,' and being of the same nature as the Scotch Kirk, or the so-called orthodox Protestant societies on the continent; the other party, if we must call it by this name, see in it a real living branch of the Church Catholic, which has existed for upwards of a thousand years, and during that period undergone various changes, some of them improvements, some deteriorations, but preserving throughout the vital spark of Catholic existence, and bearing upon her face even when most distorted and disfigured, unquestionable tokens of her high Apostolical descent.

Now, to take the very lowest possible ground, viz. supposing the English Church to be no more than a mere ecclesiastical body, kept in unity by her formularies, it is clear from the following pages that Catholic views, although not exclusively held, are *at least not condemned* by her, unless indeed Protestant con-

^a Vid. *Essays on the Church*, 1838, p. 329. "We want the works of those who *founded* and *built up* our Church; but they offer us those only who tried their utmost and partly succeeded in pulling it down."

Vid. also Ed. 1840, p. 351. "The duty of a Christian going to reside in Holland or in Germany, would be, to join himself to the visible Church of the country, *whether Lutheran, ZUINGLIAN, Presbyterian or Episcopal*," &c.

troversialists are prepared to fling the charge of dishonesty upon all the great names, and they are neither few nor unimportant, which are here adduced.

Again, if the English Church be a mere Protestant body, subject to change its creed according to the persons in authority, disciples of the ancient Church have as much right to claim King Charles, Laud, Bramhall and Montague as their Martyrs and Confessors, as Protestants have to fasten upon Cranmer, Philpot, Latimer and Jewel.

If some persons will insist on interpreting the Articles by the ever-varying opinions of their compilers, why may we not understand the Nicene Creed according to the interpretations of the Nicene Fathers? Ever since the "Catholic Church," the "Communion of Saints," and "ONE Baptism for the Remission of Sins" formed part of the Creed, until the sixteenth century, these expressions had one fixed and uniform meaning. Or, again, why may we not understand that part of the Church Catechism which relates to the Sacraments, in the same sense that its acknowledged author Bishop Overall did?

And if ^b Bishop Latimer not only believed that the Saints reigning with Christ do intercede for us, but thought it no idolatry to invoke them, and yet was a sound member of the Church, why should those Articles which he perhaps partly composed, and which his coadjutors certainly did, exclude those who hold the very same views?

Or if the 'literal and grammatical sense' of our formularies be the right one, why may we not thus understand the words of the Bishop at Ordination, and of the Priest when delivering the Holy Mysteries to each communicant, the whole of the Baptismal Service, the Absolution at the Visitation of the Sick, and numerous other portions of our formularies, especially when any other interpretation is forced, unnatural, and such as no unsophisticated mind would ever dream of.

On this low ground, then, however unsatisfactory it may be,

^b "Take Saints for inhabitants of heaven, and worshipping of them for praying to them, I never denied but they might be worshipped and be our mediators, though not by way of redemption (for so Christ alone is a whole mediator, both for them and for us) yet by way of intercession."—Bp. Latimer ap. Foxe, Acts and Monuments.

persons holding Catholic views have *at least as much* advantage as those who reject them.

But if, as we firmly and thankfully believe, the English Church be a real and living portion of the Church Catholic, the whole question takes an entirely different complexion, every difficulty vanishes, and every apparent contradiction is easily accounted for.

A Catholic mind can easily understand that a particular Church may by its sins lose many of its privileges, and become for a time in bondage to the world, and lost, as it were, to the great Catholic family, and yet be in the abstract, as far as it is Catholic and influenced by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, the pillar and ground of the truth, the representative of Christ on earth, and the ordinary means of salvation to its own children. And a Catholic eye may without difficulty discern, among its many fluctuations, what is human and what divine, on what occasions Christ does or does not speak through His Church, and which of her children are true, and which are false. If the Church be Catholic, then every thing uncatholic must be rejected as alien and hostile to her spirit. Her highest authorities cease to exist when they put forth any thing uncatholic.

It is thus that we meet the objection which is sometimes brought forward, that however much all Catholics may appeal to authority, they always reject it when it decides against them. The Catholic doctrine of authority proceeds upon a plain and intelligible principle. THE CHURCH UNIVERSAL IS UNERRING IN ITS DECISIONS, AND IT HAS SPOKEN, as well by the mouth of its Doctors and Fathers, as by its Œcumenical Councils. The doctrine thus delivered to us is one, uniform, and not to be mistaken. Every thing opposed to this we know must be wrong, whether it proceeds from a layman or a bishop. Bishops derive whatever authority they possess from the Church; when therefore they lift up their voices against it, they speak without authority. The Catholic Church gave them authority to enforce her truths, she never empowered them to teach heresy.

We need not then be startled to hear the names of the 'Reformers' and other English theologians quoted against Catho-

* See "Essays on the Church," 1810, pp. 170. 1, 2, 3.

licism, as if their high episcopal titles could avail in the slightest degree; the truth existed for more than fourteen centuries before their birth, and their authority could no more change the truth than it could effect a revolution in the planetary system. If they taught the truth they did their duty, if they sanctioned error or taught heresy, which we are far from wishing to assert, they were faithless servants or apostates. The rule then which Catholics observe in testing authority, far from being arbitrary or contradictory in practice, is simple and plain. ^d Whatever we find Catholic in our English divines we claim as the lawful property of the Church; whatever in them is uncatholic we leave, as peculiar to themselves. They were the first to direct our attention to the study of Christian Antiquity, ^e not as to a mere "argumentum ad hominem" in controversy, but on account of its inherent worth, they professed to be guided by it, to agree with it entirely, and even to sacrifice their private judgment to its decision. And if either from a misconstruction of the Patristic writings, or from other reasons they occasionally vary from Antiquity, Catholic minds prefer to follow the martyred Saints of old rather than the inconsistent teachers of yesterday.

In whatever light then we may regard the English Church, it is clear that persons holding Catholic views are perfectly justified in remaining in communion with her. On the very principles of our opponents Catholic truths are, to say the least, *not con-*

^d This rule is quite unnecessary in reading the Fathers. English theologians often contradict each other, THE FATHERS NEVER DO. We must not judge the Ancient Church by the faults of the Modern. It is idle, and evinces much ignorance, to talk of the "many-tongued traditions of fallible men," as if the Fathers held all sorts of disjointed opinions, or differed from each other on any material point. If this can be proved we shall consent to give them up altogether. It is a more honest, and certainly a more philosophical view, to regard them as teaching one and the same doctrine throughout, although erroneous. This would seem to be the view of the Author of "Ancient Christianity," and others.

^e "When all the Fathers agreed in the exposition of any place in Scripture, he acknowledged he looked on that as flowing from the Spirit of God." Crammer, (Speech on General Councils, Works, vol. iv. p. 14.) This is very different from saying (as the moderns do,) "The Fathers were unsafe guides and dreadfully corrupt in doctrine, but they may be quoted with advantage against those who defer to them." See also Crammer's celebrated 'Appeal from the Pope to a general Council,' and the Homilies *passim*.

denned by her; on our principles they must be considered as her authoritative teaching (to the exclusion of all doctrines at variance with them), and binding upon all her members.

The principal subject of these selections, namely, the Real and Substantial Presence of our Lord in the Blessed Eucharist, has been so ably explained both by ^f Dr. Pusey and by ^g Mr. Palmer, *in the very words of our formularies*, that it would be superfluous and presumptuous to go over the same ground again, especially as no attempt has yet been made to shew that the Catholic is not the natural sense of the Communion Service, the Catechism, the XXVIIIth Article, and the ^h Homily on the subject.

^f Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, pp. 126, 7, 8, &c.

^g Treatise on the Church, vol. i. p. 526. Mr. Palmer quotes Dr. Hornyhold, a Roman Catholic titular Bishop, who says that the doctrine of the Church of England in the Catechism “expresses the Real and Substantial Presence” “as fully as any Catholic can do.” This is no matter of astonishment when we remember the opinions of Bishop Overall, the author of that part of the Catechism. The words ‘VERILY AND INDEED’ are used by Dr. Chaloner in the ‘Garden of the Soul,’ to express the Roman Catholic doctrine.—Vid. p. 258.

Le Courayer says of the English Church, “Ils ne laissent pas d’admettre une présence qui quoique invisible est très véritable. La seule qu’ils excluent est une présence naturelle, sensible, physique et locale, et ils ne refusent point d’en admettre une invisible, spirituelle, sacramentelle, mais véritable pourtant.”—Relations Apolog. des Sentimens du Père le Courayer.

^h Eusebius Emisenus is quoted in this Homily as expressing the doctrine of the Church. The following passages from the writings of this Father will, it is to be hoped, fully shew *his* belief touching the Holy Eucharist.

“Invisibilis sacerdos visibiles creaturas in substantiam Corporis et Sanguinis Sui verbo Sui secretâ potestate convertit dicens, Accipite et edite, Hoc est Corpus Meum, Et sanctificatione repetitâ, Accipite et bibite, Hic est Sanguis Meum.”—Homil. Paschal. 5.

“Quando benedicendæ verbis cœlestibus creaturæ, *sacris altaribus* imponuntur, antequam invocatione sancti nominis consecrantur substantia illi est panis et vini, post verba autem Christi Corpus est et Sanguis Christi.”—Ibid.

“Ecce Sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedek panem et vinum virtute ineffabili in Sui Corporis et Sanguinis *Substantiam convertit*. Sicut enim tunc vivebat et loquebatur, et tamen a discipulis comedebatur et videbatur: ita et modo integer et incorruptus manet et à fidelibus suis in panis et vini sacramento quotidie bibitur et manducatur. Nisi enim panis et vinum in ejus carnem et sanguinem verterentur, nunquam Ipse *corporaliter* manducaretur et biberetur. Mutantur enim ista in Illa, comeduntur et bibuntur Illa in istis; quod qualiter fiat Ipse solus novit qui omnia potest et omnia novit. Dixit enim tunc per se, dicit et modo per Suos ministros, Hoc est

It may not, however, be unnecessary to observe that the ⁱXXIXth Article (asserting upon the authority of St. Augustine that the wicked are in no wise partakers of Christ) by no means sanctions the popular notion, that want of faith in the recipient destroys the effect of the consecration. The Church of Rome, whose faith in the Real Presence is unequivocal, thinks it no contradiction to assert the same truth as well in the ^kdecrees and ^lcatechism of the Council of Trent, as in the public ^mServices of the Church. We may venture in this case to appeal to one of the compilers of the Articles, in explanation of this apparent contradiction. "Evil men," says Bishop Ridley, "do eat the very true and natural Body of Christ sacramentally and no further, as St. Augustine saith, but good men do eat the very true Body, sacramentally and spiritually by grace." This is the true Catholic doctrine; the Fathers constantly assert that the wicked ⁿ'are in no wise partakers of Christ' in the Eucharist, but they Corpus Meum. Et tanta est ejus verbi virtus et efficacia ut statim fiat quod dicitur."—Homil. 62 in ramis palmarum.

It may not be amiss to quote here one or two passages from Ratramn's work on the Eucharist, with which Bishop Ridley constantly testified his perfect agreement.

"Paulo antequam pateretur, panis *substantiam* et vini creaturam *convertere* potuit in proprium corpus, quod passurum erat, et in suum sanguinem qui post fundendus extabat."—Sec. 28.

"Intelligetis—vere per mysterium panem et vinum in Corporis et sanguinis Mei conversa substantiam a credentibus sumenda."—Sec. 30.

"Ille panis qui per *sacerdotis* ministerium Christi Corpus efficitur." Sec. 9.

"Post mysticam consecrationem nec panis dicitur nec vinum sed Christi corpus et sanguis." Sec. 10. See also Sec. 14, 15, 16. Surely all this is not Zuinglian.

ⁱ Quoted in the 'Essays on the Church,' 1840, p. 297, to prove our Church Zuinglian. By the same mode of reasoning the Church of Rome, which admits the same truth, may be proved Zuinglian.

^k Sess. xiii. de Eucharistia, c. viii. "Quoad usum autem recte et sapienter Patres nostri tres rationes hoc sanctum sacramentum accipiendi distinxerunt, Quosdam enim docuerunt sacramentaliter duntaxat id sumere ut peccatores; alios tantum spiritualiter; illos nimirum qui voto propositum illum cœlestem panem edentes, fide vivâ, quæ per dilectionem operatur fructum ejus et utilitatem sentiunt; tertios porro sacramentaliter simul et spiritualiter."

^l Catechism. ad Parochos, pars ii. cap. iv. quæst. 53.

^m Vide Breviarium Romanum in Fest. Corporis Christi Nocturn. 3 lect. viii.

ⁿ Thus S. HILARY. (De Trinitat. lib. viii.) "Panis qui de cœlo descendit non nisi ab eo accipitur qui Dominum habet et Christi membrum est."

equally affirm, and with as much truth, that Christ is really present ° whether they discern His Body or no.

It will upon examination be found that many Catholic doctrines are Papparently contradictory to each other, which in

PROSPER (Sentent. 339.) “ Qui discordat a Christi nec carnem ejus manducat nec sanguinem bibit.”

S. JEROME. (In Esai. lxxvi.) “ Omnes voluptatis amatores magis quam Dei . . . nec comedunt carnem Jesu nec bibunt sanguinem ejus.”

ORIGEN. (In Matt. xv.) “ Ipsum verbum caro factum nullus malus edere potest.”

S. AMBROSE. (De benedict. Patriarch. c. 9.) “ Ille accipit qui seipsum probat,” &c.

° S. JEROME. “ ‘ Polluimus panem’ id est, Corpus Christi, quando indigni accedimus ad altare et sordidi mundum sanguinem bibimus.” (In Malach. i.)

S. LEO. (Serm. iv. de Quadrages.) Ore indigno Christi corpus accipiunt,” &c.

THEODORET. (In 1 Cor. xi.) “ Οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἑνδεκα ἀποστόλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ προδότη τῷ τιμίῳ μετέδωκε σάματός τε καὶ αἵματος.”

Pseudo-ORIGEN. (In divers. Homil. 5.) “ Quando sanctum cibum, illudque incorruptum accipis epulum, quando vitæ pane et poculo frueris, manducas et bibis Corpus et Sanguinem Domini: tunc Dominus sub tectum tuum ingreditur. Et tu ergo humilians teipsum imitare hunc centurionem et dicito ‘ Domine non sum dignus’ &c. Ubi enim indignè ingreditur, ibi ad judicium ingreditur accipienti.”

S. AUGUSTINE. (De verbis Domini, Serm. 11.) “ Illud etiam quod ait ‘ Qui manducat carnem meam et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet et ego in illo’ quomodo intellecturi sumus? numquid etiam illos hic poterimus accipere, de quibus dicit Apostolus quod ‘ judicium sibi manducant et bibant,’ cum ipsam carnem manducant et ipsum sanguinem bibant? Numquid et Judas magistri venditor et traditor impius . . . mansit in Christi, aut Christus in eo? Multi denique qui vel corde ficto carnem illam manducant et sanguinem bibunt, vel cum manducaverint et biberint apostatæ fiunt numquid manent in Christo aut Christus in eis? Non ergo quocumque modo quisquis manducaverit carnem Christi et biberit sanguinem Christi in Christo manet et in illo Christus, sed certo quodammodo, quem modus Ipse videbat quando ista dicebat.”

So also (De Baptism. contra Donatistas, lib. v. c. 8.) “ Sicut Judas cui buccellam tradidit Dominus, non malum accipiendo, sed malè accipiendo, locum in se diabolo præbuit, sic indignè quisque sumens Dominicum Sacramentum non efficit ut quia ipse malus est malum sit, aut quia ad salutem non accipit, nihil acceperit. Corpus enim Domini et Sanguis Domini nihilominus erat illis quibus dicebat Apostolus, ‘ Qui manducat indignè judicium sibi manducat et bibit.’ ”

P “ Il y a un grand nombre de vérités, et de foi et de morale, qui semblent repugnantes et contraires, et qui subsistent toutes dans un ordre admirable. Nous croyons que la substance du pain étant changée en celle du corps de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, il est présent réellement au Saint Sacrement. Voilà une des vérités. Une autre est, que ce Sacrement est

reality are not so, but beautifully counteract any evil effects which might spring from dwelling too much on one doctrine to the neglect of another. Thus the belief in Baptismal Regeneration might lead to Antinomianism were it not for the doctrine of Sin after Baptism; this, too, might lead to the heresy of Novatus, were we not instructed in the power of the Keys. There *can* be no contradiction in the Catholic Church; "it claims for itself," to use the words of an illustrious member of the Roman Communion, "a complete consistency from its first principle to its last consequence, and to its least institution."

It is also desirable, whilst on the subject of the Blessed Eucharist, to call attention to a rubric in the First Liturgy of Edward VI., which according to the very authority which substituted another book in its place, "a contained nothing but what was agreeable to the word of God and the Primitive Church." The rubric is as follows:—

"For avoiding all matters and occasion of dissension, it is meet that the bread prepared for the Communion be made through all the realm, after one sort or fashion, that is to say unleavened and round . . . and every one shall be divided in two pieces at the least, or more, by the discretion of the Minister, and so distributed, and ^r *men must not think less to be received*

aussi une figure de la Croix et de la gloire, et une commémoration des deux. Voilà la foi Catholique qui comprend ces deux vérités qui semblent opposées. L'hérésie d'aujourd'hui ne concevant pas que ce Sacrement contient tout ensemble, et la présence de Jésus Christ, et sa figure, et qu'il soit Sacrifice et commémoration de Sacrifice croit qu'on ne peut admettre l'une de ces vérités, sans exclure l'autre. Par cette raison ils s'attachent à ce point, que ce Sacrement est figuratif, et en cela ils ne sont pas hérétiques. Ils pensent que nous excluons cette vérité et de la vient qu'ils nous font tant d'objections sur les passages des Pères qui le disent. Enfin ils nient la Présence Réelles et en cela ils sont hérétiques."—PASCAL. Pensées xxviii. 4.

"Corpus Christi et veritas et figura est: veritas dum Corpus Christi et sanguis in virtute ipsius ex panis et vini substantiâ efficitur: figura verò est id quod exterius sentitur."—Bishop POYNET. *Dialecticon viri boni et literati.*

^q Vid. Appendix viii. 'Desiderata in the English Church.'

^r Praeto demum sacramento,	Nulla rei fit scissura
Ne vacilles, sed memento	Signi tantum fit fractura
Tantum esse sub fragmento	Quâ nec status nec statura
Quantum toto tegitur.	Signati minuitur.

Missale Romanum.—In solemnitate Corporis Christi.

in part than in the whole, but in each of them the whole Body of our Saviour Jesus Christ."

This has frequently, and with great justice, been quoted by ^s Roman Catholic controversialists, as expressing the conversion of every particle of the Holy Elements, and it ever will remain as one of the many proofs, that in condemning 'Transubstantiation' our Church meant not ^tany change of substance, but only "that shocking doctrine, that the Body of Christ is not given, taken and eaten after an heavenly and spiritual manner, but is carnally pressed with the "teeth." This doctrine was that uniformly opposed by the ^x 'Reformers;' it is ^ynot, however, the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, by whose members it is indignantly rejected as ^z "constructive heresy."

Would that all branches of the Church of God might be brought 'to give up the study of contradiction and understand one another aright.' That we do not understand each other aright is sad indeed, but it is still more sad that we so seldom try to understand each other. The sole object of controversialists would seem to consist in widening the gulf between them, by distorting each other's meaning, and creating differences where there really are none. The Church is now divided; that division can only have happened through our sins, and it need not, and ought not to be, a question (except for repentance and confession) where the sin first originated. We know that we

^s Among others see Geraldine, 3rd Ed. p. 107.

^t Bp. Poynt, one of the 'Reformers' and sufferers under Queen Mary, says in his *Diallacticon*, "De Transubstantiationis vocabulo, quamvis barbaro minimeque necessario, non litigaremus, si modo talem substantiarum transmutationem interpretentur, qualem veteres agnoscebant, sacramentalem vide licet," &c., in opposition to an organical and palpable change.

^u Tracts for the Times, No. 90. On the 28th Article.

^x "Solam *σαρκοφαγίαν* id est carnis vorationem, quam nullo pacto probant, sed ut stultam et impiam condemnunt, rejicimus, ut alienam à Scripturis, alienam à Patrum interpretatione, denique cum verâ fide ex diametro pugnantem."—Bp. ΠΟΥΝΕΤ. *Diallacticon*.

^y "Corpus Christi seu Christus, est in symbolis, spirituali modo seu spiritualiter, et non corporali seu carnali, nec corporaliter seu carnaliter."—VERON. *Regula Fidei*.

^z "The doctrine thus imputed, far from being that of the Catholic Church, would be, in the sense imputed at least, constructive heresy."—*Dublin Review*, No. XX. p. 409. note.

are now divided, and we also know that this division is unnatural to the Church, injurious to her best interests, and contrary to the will of Him who prayed that we might be One, even as He and the Father are One. And as the will of the Almighty Founder of the Church is revealed to us in no ambiguous terms, all our talents and energies should be devoted to the fulfilment of that Holy Will, in restoring peace to divided Christendom. We cannot, indeed, bring about the union of the Church at our pleasure; it is an inestimable privilege which we have lost by our sins, which none of us deserve, and which may be withheld from us as a punishment. But it surely is our duty to pray for it, to remove all obstacles, and to advance it by all the means in our power. And, if we may say it without irreverence and presumption, the greatest difficulties in its path are fast vanishing away, whilst every ^a change in the religious, political, philosophical, scientific, and literary world bears additional witness to its rapid progress. The times are changed and are still daily changing, the eyes of all around us are opening upon the majestic glories of Christ's everlasting Church, and the many are once more speaking "a language the earth had lost." "For a small moment hath the Lord forsaken His Church, but with everlasting kindness will He have mercy upon her." 'The Lord shall comfort Zion, He will comfort all her waste places, and He will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord; joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving and the voice of melody.' 'No weapon that is formed against her shall prosper, and every tongue that shall rise against her in judgment shall she condemn,' 'for her Maker is her Husband, the Lord of Hosts is His Name, and her Redeemer the Holy One of Israel.'

Feast of All Saints.

^a "Nous touchons," says DE MAISTRE, "à la plus grande des époques religieuses, où tout homme est tenu d'apporter, s'il en a la force, une pierre pour l'édifice auguste dont les plans sont visiblement arrêtés. La mediocrité des talens ne doit effrayer personne."

Is it not sad that this illustrious writer so little understood the English Church as to say of it, "Elle a proclamé solennellement dans cet acte 39 Articles, ni plus, ni moins, absolument nécessaires au salut!"—Du Pape, tome ii. p. 320.

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SUTTON	THORNDIKE
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HOOKE	BISHOP FELL
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HERBERT	BISHOP KEN
BISHOP FORBES	BISHOP BEVERIDGE
BISHOP MORTON	ARCHBISHOP SHARP
BISHOP MONTAGUE	LESLIE
BISHOP WHITE	JOHNSON
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BISHOP MONTAGUE	BISHOP COSIN
BISHOP WHITE	WHEATLY

APPENDIX V. On the Validity of Non-episcopal Ordinations.

BISHOP TAYLOR	DAWSON	WHEATLY
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APPENDIX VI. On the Blessed Virgin and the Saints.

1. On the Blessed Virgin.

BISHOP ANDREWES
BISHOP TAYLOR
BISHOP PEARSON
BISHOP JOLLY

2. Intercession of the Saints.

DEAN FIELD
ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL
ORIGINAL SERVICE FOR JANUARY 29TH
BISHOP PEARSON
BRETT

3. On the Merits of the Saints.

DEAN FIELD

APPENDIX VII. Prayer for the Faithful departed.

BISHOP ANDREWES
 DEAN FIELD
 BISHOP OVERALL
 ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL
 BISHOP FORBES
 BISHOP TAYLOR
 HAMMOND
 BISHOP COSIN
 THORNDIKE
 BISHOP BULL
 BISHOP HICKES
 BISHOP COLLIER
 LESLIE
 WHEATLY
 BRETT
 BISHOP WILSON
 BISHOP JOLLY
 BISHOP BARROW

APPENDIX VIII. Desiderata in the English Church.

GRABE
 BISHOP HICKES
 BRETT

APPENDIX IX. Dean Sherlock on Sin after Baptism.

THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

BISHOP ^a ANDREWES.

DIXIT Christus ‘Hoc est Corpus meum’ non ‘hoc modo, hoc est Corpus Meum.’ Nobis autem vobiscum de objecto convenit; de modo lis est omnis. De ‘Hoc est’ fide firmâ tenemus quod sit; de ‘hoc modo est’ (nempe transubstantiato in Corpus pane) de modo quo fiat ut sit; per sive *in*, sive *con*, sive *trans*, nullum inibi verbum est. Et quia verbum nullum, merito a *fide* ablegamus procul. Inter scita scholæ fortasse, inter fidei articulos non ponimus. Quod dixisse olim fertur Durandus neutiquam displicet (Neander, Synop. Chron. p. 203): “Verbum audimus, motum sentimus, modum nescimus, præsentiam credimus.” Præsentiam (inquam) credimus, nec minus quam vos veram. De modo præsentiae nil temere definimus: addo nec anxie inquirimus, non magis quam in Christi incarnatione, quomodo naturæ divinæ humana in eandem hypostasin uniatur. Inter mysteria ducimus et quidem mysterium est eucharistia ipsa cujus quod reliquum est, debet igne absumi; id est, ut eleganter, imprimis patres, “fide adorari, non ratione discuti.”—*Respons. ad Apolog. Card. Bellarmin. cap. i. p. 11.*

SUTTON.

The faithful receive the Blessed Sacrament: Well, what do they receive? Certainly Christ Jesus, truly and really; to make further scruple is needless curiosity; to give light credence hereunto is in part incredulity.

We have many things in Christianity offered as objects of our faith, wherein we must hold captive human reason. Et Deus erat, et Homo erat, et Mater erat, et Virgo erat. There was a God and yet a Man, a Mother and yet a Virgin: that it is so, we know it, how or after what manner this is brought to pass, know we cannot.—*Godly Meditations upon the most Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, p. xvii. xix.

^a Translated in Dr. Pusey's Letter to Dr. Jelf, p. 49.

Consider the divine Wisdom of the Son of God, who respecting our weakness, hath conveyed unto us His Body and Blood after a divine and spiritual manner, *under the forms* of bread and wine. P. 26. et passim.

BAILY.

And to this end, Christ in the action of the Sacrament really giveth His very Body and Blood to every faithful receiver. Therefore the Sacrament is called the Communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord. And communication is not of things *absent*, but *present*, neither were it the Lord's Supper, if the Lord's Body and Blood were not there. Christ is verily present *in* the Sacrament by a double union. If you look to the things that are united, this union is essential, if to the truth of this union, it is real, if to the manner how it is wrought, it is Spiritual.

The Sacramental Bread and Wine, therefore, are not bare signifying signs, but such as wherewith Christ doth indeed exhibit and give to every worthy receiver, not only His divine virtue and efficacy, but also His very Body and Blood. ^b Our bodies shall surely be raised to eternal life at the last day. For how can those bodies which have been fed and nourished with the Body and Blood of the Lord of life but be raised up again at the last day? And this is the cause that the bodies of the Saints, being dead, are so reverently buried and laid to sleep in the Lord.

He therefore who duly eateth of this Holy Sacrament may

^b This connection between the reception of the Holy Eucharist, and our resurrection to Eternal Life, is borrowed from St. Irenæus by several writers of this period, as Sutton, Hooker, &c. The words of St. Irenæus are as follow: "Quomodo autem rursus dieunt carnem in corruptionem venire et non percipere vitam, quæ à corpore Domini et sanguine aluntur Nostra autem consonans est sententia Eucharistiæ, et Eucharistia rursus confirmat sententiam nostram. . . . Quemadmodum enim qui est à terrâ panis, percipiens vocationem Dei, jam non communis panis est, sed Eucharistia, ex duabus rebus constans, terrenâ et cælesti: Sic et corpora nostra percipientia Eucharistiam, jam non sunt corruptibilia, spem resurrectionis habentia." Adv. Hæres. lib. iv. c. 34. Before him St. Ignatius (ad Ephesos) had called the Eucharist "*φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ.*" So also St. Optatus (Contra Parmen. lib. vi.) "*Pungis salutis æternæ, et tutela fidei, et spes resurrectionis.*"

truly say not only "Credo Vitam æternam," I believe Life everlasting, but also "Edo Vitam æternam," I eat Life everlasting.—^c *Practice of Picty*.

HOOKER.

Doth any man doubt but that even from the Flesh of Christ our very bodies do receive that life which will make them glorious at the latter day, and for which they are already accounted parts of His Blessed Body. Our corruptible bodies could never live the life they shall live, were it not that here they are joined with His Body that is incorruptible, and that His is in ours as a cause of immortality.—*Ecclesiastical Polity*, book v. c. 56.

The very letter of the words of Christ giveth plain security, that these mysteries do as nails fasten us to His very cross, that by them we draw out as touching efficacy, force and virtue, even the Blood of His gored Side; in the wounds of our Redeemer we there dip our tongues, we are dyed red both within and without, our hunger is satisfied and our thirst for ever quenched; they are things wonderful which he feeleth, great which he seeth and unheard of which he uttereth whose soul is possessed of the Paschal Lamb, and made joyful in the strength of this new Wine; this Bread hath in it more than the substance which our eyes behold, this cup hallowed with solemn benediction availeth to the endless life and welfare of soul and body, in that it serveth as well for a medicine to heal our infirmities and purge our sins, as for a Sacrifice of thanksgiving; with touching it sanctifieth, it enlighteneth with belief, it truly conformeth us to the image of Jesus Christ; what these elements are in themselves it skilleth not, it is enough that to me which take them they are the Body and Blood of Christ, His promise in witness hereof sufficeth, His word He knoweth which way to accomplish; why should any cogitation possess the mind of a faithful communicant but this, O my God Thou art true, O my soul, thou art ^d happy!—*Ibid.* c. 67.

^c This little work was so popular in its day, as to run through 42 editions during the life-time of its author. There is a striking resemblance between it and Sutton's work on the Eucharist.

^d This beautiful passage is almost a literal translation from the "Cœna Domini" of Arnoldus de Bonâ Villâ, (a contemporary of St. Bernard,) which was formerly attributed to St. Cyprian.

These Holy Mysteries received in due manner, do instrumentally both make us partakers of the grace of that Body and Blood which were given for the life of the world, and besides also, impart in true and real though mystical manner, the Very Person of our Lord Himself, Whole, perfect and entire, as hath been shewed.—*Ibid.*

BISHOP OVERALL.

(From the “Additional Notes to Nichol’s Commentary on the Common Prayer.”)

[For that Thou hast vouchsafed to feed us who have duly received these Holy Mysteries, with the spiritual food, &c.] Before Consecration we call them God’s creatures of bread and wine, now we do so no more after Consecration, wherein we have the advantage of the Church of Rome, who calls them still creatures in their very Mass after Consecration, and yet they will be upbraiding us for denying the Real Presence, whereas we believe it better than they. For after Consecration we think no more of bread and wine, but have our thoughts taken up wholly with the Body of Christ, and therefore we keep ourselves to those words only, abstaining from the other (though the bread remain there still to the eye), which they do not. And herein we follow the Fathers, who after Consecration would not suffer it to be called bread and wine any longer, but the Body and Blood of Christ.

[RUBRIC. And if any of the Bread and Wine.

Bread and Wine.] It is confessed by all Divines that upon the words of the Consecration, the Body and Blood of Christ is really and substantially present, and so exhibited and given to all that receive it, and all this not after a physical and sensual, but after an heavenly and incomprehensible manner. But there yet remains this controversy among some of them, whether the Body of Christ be present only in the use of the Sacrament, and in the act of eating, and not otherwise. They that hold the affirmative, as the Lutherans (in Confess. Sax.), and all Calvinists, do seem to me to depart from all Antiquity, which place the presence of Christ in the virtue and benediction used by the Priest, and not in the use of eating the Sacrament.—And this

did most Protestants grant and profess at first, though now the Calvinists make Popish magic of it in their licentious blasphemy.

[CATECHISM.—What is the inward part or thing signified? &c.] I cannot see where any real difference is betwixt us [the Churches of England and Rome] about this Real Presence, if we could give over the study of contradiction, and understand one another aright.

HERBERT.

COME ye hither, all whose taste
 Is your waste;
 Save your cost and mend your fare,
 God is here prepared and drest,
 And the feast
 God in whom all dainties are.

Come ye hither, all whom wine
 Doth define
 Naming you not to your good,
 Weep what ye have drunk amiss,
 And drink This
 Which before ye drink is Blood, &c.

THE INVITATION.

Blest order, which in power dost so excel,
 That with the one hand thou liftest to the sky,
 And with the other throwest down to hell
 In thy just censures, fain would I draw nigh,
 Fain put thee on, exchanging my lay sword
 For that of the Holy Word.

But thou art fire, sacred and hallowed fire,
 And I but earth and clay; should I presume
 To wear thy habit, the severe attire
 My slender compositions might consume;
 I am both foul and brittle, much unfit
 To deal in Holy Writ.

* * * * *

But the holy men of God such vessels are
 As serve Him up, Who all the world commands
 When God vouchsafeth to become our Food
 Their hands convey Him, Who conveys their hands
 O what pure things, most pure must those things be
 Who bring my God to me.

THE PRIESTHOOD.

BISHOP FORBES.

The doctrine of those Protestants and others seems most safe and true, who are of opinion, nay most firmly believe, that the Body and Blood of Christ is truly, really and substantially present in the Eucharist, and received but in a manner incomprehensible in respect of human reason and ineffable, known to God alone, and not revealed to us in the Scriptures, not corporal, yet neither in the mind alone, or through faith alone, but in another way, known, as was said, to God alone, and to be left to His Omnipotence.—^e *Consid. Modest. de Euchar.* I. i. 7.

BISHOP MORTON.

The question is not absolutely concerning a Real Presence, which Protestants (as their own Jesuits witness) do also profess. Which acknowledgment of our adversaries may serve to stay the contrary clamours and calumnious accusations, wherein they use to range Protestants with those heretics who denied that the true Body of Christ was in the Eucharist, and maintained only a figure and image of Christ's Body, seeing that our difference is not about the truth or reality of presence, but about the true manner of the being and receiving thereof.—*Catholic Appeal*, p. 93. Ed. 1610.

BISHOP MONTAGUE.

Our formal words are, "This is My Body:" "This is My Blood." This is more than, This figureth or designeth. A bare sign is but a phantasm. He gave substance, and really subsisting essence, who said, "This is My Body: This is My Blood." And yet our Catechism, in the Communion-book authorized, saith expressly, "The Body and Blood of Christ taken and eaten in the Lord's Supper, not the figure and sign of His Body and Blood, which can neither be taken, nor yet eaten Sir, we acknowledge right willingly and profess that in the blessed Sacrament (as you call it, of the Altar) the Body and Blood of our

^e Quoted in Dr. Pusey's Letter to Dr. Jelf, p. 50.

Saviour Christ, is really participated and communicated : and by means of that real participation, life from Him, and in Him, conveyed into our souls.—*Answer to a late Gagger of Protestants*, sec. 36.

Do all your parishioners, of what sort soever, according as the Church expressly them commandeth, draw near and with all Christian humility and reverence come to the Lord's table, when they are to receive the Holy Communion? And not (after the most contemptuous and unholy usage of some, if men did rightly consider) sit still in their seats and pews, to have the Blessed Body and Blood of our Saviour go up and down to seek them all the Church over.—*Articles of Inquiry*, tit. viii. sec. 2.

BISHOP WHITE.—(AND BISHOP BILSON.)

The more learned Jesuits themselves acknowledge that Protestants believe the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Holy Eucharist; and our Divines deliver their faith concerning the Sacrament in this manner; "God forbid we should deny that the Flesh and Blood of Christ are truly present and truly received of the faithful at the Lord's table; it is the doctrine we teach others and comfort ourselves with."—*Conference with Fisher*, p. 178.

His Sacred Majesty, a true defender of the ancient Catholic and Apostolic Faith, to his immortal praise submitteth his judgment in this and in all other articles to the express word of God, &c. And concerning the Sacred Eucharist he firmly believeth that in the holy use thereof, the very Body and Blood of Christ are truly, really, and effectually presented and communicated to all faithful and worthy believers.—*Ibid. The sixth point.*

ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

As for the Church of England, nothing is more plain than that it believes and teaches the true and real presence of Christ in the Eucharist.—*Conference with Fisher*, p. 291, sec. 35.

O Lord God, hear my prayers. I come to Thee in a steadfast faith; yet for the clearness of my faith, Lord, enlighten it, for the strength of my faith Lord, increase it. Behold, Lord, I quarrel not the words of Thy Son my Saviour's blessed institution. I

know His words are no gross, unnatural conceit, but they are Spirit and Life. While the world disputes, I believe. He hath promised me, if I come worthily, that I shall receive His most precious Body and Blood with all the fruits of His Passion.—*Devotions.*

O Lord God, how I receive the Body and Blood of my most blessed Saviour Jesus Christ is the very wonder of my soul, yet my most firm and constant belief upon the words of my Saviour. At this time they are graciously offered to me and my faith; Lord, make me a worthy receiver, and be it unto me as He hath said.—*Ibid.*

ARCHBISHOP † BRAMHALL.

So grossly is he mistaken on all sides, when he saith that Protestants (he should say the English Church, if he would speak to the purpose) have a positive belief that the Sacrament is not the Body of Christ, which were to contradict the words of Christ, "This is My Body." He knows better that Protestants do not deny the thing, but the bold determination of the manner by Transubstantiation.—*Works*, p. 226.

Abate us Transubstantiation, and those things which are consequent of their determination of the manner of presence, and we have no difference with them in this particular. Those who are ordained Priests ought to have power to consecrate the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, that is, to make Them present.—P. 485.

BISHOP TAYLOR.

8. This may suffice for the word *real*, which the English Papists much use, but, as it appears, with much less reason than the sons of the Church of England: and when the real presence is denied, the word 'real' is taken for 'natural,' and does not signify *transcendent*, or in his just and most proper signification. But the word *substantialiter* is also used by Protestants in this question, which I suppose may be the same with that which is in the Article of Trent, "Sacramentaliter presens Salvator substantiâ Suâ adest."—*Real Presence*, sec. i. 8.

† Quoted in the Rev. J. H. Newman's Letter to Dr. Fausset.

9. That which seems of hardest explication is the word *corporaliter* but the expression may become warrantable and consonant to our doctrine. . . .

10. But because the words do perfectly declare our sense, and are owned publicly in our doctrine, and manner of speaking; it will be in vain to object against us those sayings of the Fathers which use the same expressions, for if by virtue of those words 'really,' 'substantially,' 'corporally,' 'verily and indeed,' and 'Christ's Body and Blood,' the Fathers shall be supposed to speak for Transubstantiation, they may as well suppose it to be our doctrine too, for we use the same words. . . .

11. One thing more I am to note in order to the same purpose; that in the amplification of this question, it is much insisted upon that it be enquired whether when we say we believe Christ's Body to be really in the Sacrament we mean that Body, that Flesh, that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified, dead and buried; I answer, I know none else that he had or hath: there is but One Body of Christ, natural and glorified And therefore, when any of the Protestant divines or any of the Fathers deny that Body which was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified, to be eaten in the Sacrament, as Bertram, as S. Hierom, as Clemens Alex. expressly affirm, the meaning is easy; they intend that it is not eaten in a natural sense.—*Ibid.*

1. No man must dare to approach to the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper if he be in a state of any one sin, and he that receiveth Christ into an impure soul or body, first turns his most excellent nourishment into poison, and then feeds upon it.

4. It is not the preparation of two or three days that can render a person capable of this banquet; For in this feast all Christ, and Christ's Passion, and all His graces, the blessings and effects of His sufferings, are conveyed.

8. When the Holy Man stands at the Table of Blessing, and ministers the rite of Consecration, then do as the Angels do, who behold and love and wonder that the Son of God should become Food to the souls of His servants; that He who cannot suffer any change or lessening should be broken into pieces and enter

into the body to support and nourish the spirit, and yet^g remain in heaven whilst He descends to thee upon earth, that He who hath essential felicity should become miserable and die for thee, and then give Himself to thee, for ever to redeem thee from sin and misery. . . .

9. These Holy Mysteries are offered to our senses, but not to be placed under our feet; they are sensible but not common, and therefore as the weakness of the Elements adds wonder to the excellency of the Sacrament, so let our reverence and venerable usages of Them add Honour to the Elements, and acknowledge the glory of the Mystery and the Divinity of the Mery.

Let us receive the consecrated Elements with all devotion of body and spirit, and do this honour to It, ^h that it be the first food we eat, and the first beverage we drink that day . . . and that your body and soul be prepared to Its reception, with abstinence from secular pleasures, that you may better have attended fastings and preparatory prayers.

10. In the Act of receiving, exercise Acts of Faith with much confidence and resignation, believing it not to be common bread and wine, but holy in their use, holy in their signification, holy in their change, and holy in their effects; and believe, if thou art a worthy communicant, thou dost as verily receive Christ's Body and Blood to all effects and purposes of the Spirit, as thou dost receive the Blessed Elements into thy mouth; that thou puttest thy finger to His hand, and thy hand to His side, and thy lips to His fontinel of Blood, sucking Life from His heart, and yet if thou dost communicate unworthily, thou eatest and drinkest

^g "Nec Patris linquens dexteram."—Hymn. Breviar. Romani in Fest. Corp. Christi ad Laudes.

Compare also, Concil. Trident. Sess. xiii. cap. 1. "Neque enim hæc inter se pugnant, ut Ipse Salvator noster semper ad dexteram Patris in cælis assideat *juxta modum existendi naturalem*, et ut multis nihilominus aliis in locis sacramentaliter præsens suâ substantiâ nobis adsit, eâ existendi ratione, quam etsi verbis exprimere vix possumus, possibilem tamen esse Deo cogitatione per fidem illustrata assequi possumus et constantissimè credere debemus."

See also Catechism. ad Parochos, pars ii. cap. 4. quæst. 26.

^h "This Sacrament should be received fasting &c."—Br. SPARROW. Rationale, p. 218. Ed. Oxford, 1840.

Christ to thy danger and death and destruction.—*Holy Living*, sec. 10. chap. iv.

Place thyself upon thy knees in the devoutest and the humblest posture of worshippers, and think not much in the lowest manner to worship the King of men and Angels, the Lord of Heaven and earth, the great lover of souls, and the Saviour of the body, Him whom all the Angels of God worship, Him Whom thou confessest worthy of all, and Whom all the world shall adore, and before Whom they shall tremble at the day of judgment. For if Christ be not there [in the Sacrament] after a peculiar manner, whose Body do we receive? But if He be present not in mystery only, but in blessing also, why do we not worship? But all the Christians always did so from time immemorial. “No man eats this Flesh unless he first adores,” said St. Austin, “For the wise men and barbarians did worship this Body in the manger, with very much fear and reverence: let us, therefore, who are citizens of heaven, at least not fall short of the barbarians. But thou seest Him not on the manger, but on the Altar; and thou beholdest Him not in the Virgin’s arms, but represented by the Priest, and brought to thee in Sacrifice by the Holy Spirit of God.” So St. Chrysostom argues.—*Worthy Communicant*, chap. vii. 10.

Have mercy upon us, O heavenly Father, according to Thy glorious mercies and promises, send Thy Holy Ghost upon our hearts, and let Him also descend upon these gifts, that by His good, His holy, His glorious presence, He may sanctify and enlighten our hearts, and He may bless and sanctify these gifts, That this bread may become the Holy Body of Christ.

Amen.

And this chalice may become the life-giving Blood of Christ.

Amen.

Office for the Holy Communion. Consecration Prayer.

I shall instance but one more, but it is in the most solemn, sacred and divinest mystery in our religion, that in which the clergy in their appointed ministry do *διακονοῦντες μεσιτεύειν*, stand between God and the people, and do fulfil a special and incomprehensible ministry, which the Angels themselves do look into with admiration; to which, if people come without fear, they

cannot come without sin; and this of so sacred and reserved mysteriousness, that but few have dared to offer at it with unconsecrated hands, some few have. But the Eucharist is the fulness of all the mysteriousness of our religion: and the clergy, when they officiate here, are most truly, in the phrase of St. Paul, "dispensatores mysteriorum Dei," dispensers of the great mysteries of the kingdom. For to use the words of St. Cyprian, "Jesus Christ is our High Priest, and Himself became our sacrifice, which He finished upon the cross," &c. . . .

Now what Christ does always in a proper and most glorious manner, the ministers of the gospel also do in theirs; commemorating the Sacrifice upon the Cross, "giving thanks," and celebrating a perpetual eucharist for it, and by declaring the death of Christ, and praying to God in the virtue of it, for all the members of the Church and all persons capable; it is "in genere orationis," a Sacrifice and an instrument of propitiation, as all prayers are in their several proportions. . . .

And certainly he could upon no pretence have challenged the appellation of Christian, who had dared either himself to invade the holy rites within the cancels, or had denied the power of celebrating this dreadful mystery to belong only to sacerdotal ministration. For either it is said to be but common bread and wine, and then, if that were true, indeed any body may minister it, but then they that say so are blasphemous, they count the Body of the Lord τὸ αἶμα τῆς διαθήκης (as St. Paul calls it in imitation of the words of Institution), the Blood of the Covenant or New Testament, a profane or common thing; they discern not the Lord's Body, they know not that the Bread which is broken is the communication of the Lord's Body. But if it be a holy, separate, or divine and mysterious thing, who can make it (ministerially I mean) and consecrate or sublime it from common or ordinary bread, but a consecrate, separate, and sublimed person?

. . . . And therefore the Christian ministry having greater privileges, and being honoured with attreatation of the Body and Blood of Christ, and offices serving to a better covenant, may with greater argument be accounted excellent, honourable, and royal. . . .

And certainly there is not a greater degree of power in the world than to remit and retain sins, and to consecrate the sacra-

mental symbols into the mysteriousness of Christ's Body and Blood; nor a greater honour than that God in heaven should ratify what the Priest does on earth, and should admit him to handle the Sacrifice of the world, and to present the same which in heaven is presented by the eternal Jesus.—*Clerus Domini. The Divine Institution and Necessity of the Office Ministerial, written by the especial command of King Charles I. sec. 5.*

BISHOP COSIN.

Where is the danger and what doth he fear as long as all they that believe the Gospel own the true nature and the Real and Substantial Presence of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament, using that explication of St. Bernard concerning the manner, which he himself, for the too great evidence of truth, durst not but admit? . . . We confess with the Fathers, that this manner of Presence is unaccountable and past finding out, not to be searched and pryed into by reason, but believed by faith. And if it seems impossible that the Flesh of Christ should descend and come to be our food through so great a distance, we must remember how much the power of the Holy Spirit exceeds our sense and our apprehensions, and how absurd it would be to undertake to measure His immensity by our weakness and narrow capacity, and so make our faith to conceive and believe what our reason cannot comprehend.

Yet our faith does not cause or make that presence, but apprehends it as most truly and really effected by the word of Christ; and the faith whereby we are said to eat the Flesh of Christ, is not that only whereby we believe that He died for our sins . . . but more properly that whereby we believe those words of Christ, "This is My Body." . . . For in this mystical eating, by the wonderful power of the Holy Ghost, we do invisibly receive the substance of Christ's Body and Blood, as much as if we should eat and drink both visibly. . . .

All that remains is, that we should with faith and humility admire this high and sacred mystery, which our tongue cannot sufficiently explain, nor our heart conceive.—*Hist. of Transubstantiation, chap. iii. sec. 2, 3, 4, 5.*

JACKSON.

First then, all that are partakers of this Sacrament eat Christ's Body and drink His blood sacramentally, that is, they eat that Bread which sacramentally is His Body, and drink that cup which sacramentally is His Blood, whether they eat or drink faithfully or unfaithfully. Must we say then that Christ is really present in the Sacrament, as well to the unworthy, as to the faithful receivers? Yes, this we must grant: yet we must add withal that He is really present with them in a quite contrary manner: really present He is, because virtually present to both, because the operation or efficacy of His Body and Blood is not metaphorical, but real in both.—*On the Creed*, book xi. chap. iv. p. 3332. Ed. 1657.

THORNDIKE.

It is not here to be denied that all Ecclesiastical writers do with one mouth bear witness to the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist. Neither will any one of them be found to ascribe it to any thing but the Consecration, or that to any faith, but that, upon which the Church professeth to proceed to the celebrating of it. . . . They all acknowledge the Elements to be changed, translated, and turned into the substance of Christ's Body and Blood, though as in a Sacrament, that is, mystically: yet therefore by virtue of the Consecration, not of his faith that receives.—*Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England*, book iii. chap. iv. p. 30, 31.

BISHOP SPARROW.

. . . . The Priest says, "Lift up your hearts." For certainly at that hour when we are to receive the most dreadful Sacrament,

¹ So also in the next chapter, "The Elements are really changed from ordinary bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, mystically present, as in a Sacrament; and that in virtue of the Consecration, not by the faith of him that receives," p. 44. And a few pages farther on he says, "Is not the Sacrament of the Eucharist a propitiatory and impetratory Sacrifice by virtue of the Consecration?" He also calls the Consecration "the Production of the Body and Blood of Christ."

it is necessary to lift up our hearts to God, and not to have them grovelling upon the earth &c.

Next is the Consecration. So you shall find in Chrysostom and Cyril last cited. Which Consecration consists chiefly in rehearsing the words of our Saviour's Institution, This is My Body and This is My Blood, when the bread and wine is present upon the Communion Table. "The Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," says St. Chrysostom, "which the Priest now makes, is the same that Christ gave to His Apostles &c." Again, "Christ is present at the Sacrament now, that first instituted it. He consecrates this also: it is not man that makes the Body and Blood of Christ by consecrating the holy elements, but Christ that was crucified for us. The words are pronounced by the words of the Priest, but the elements are consecrated by the power and grace of God." "This is," saith He, "My Body;" by this word the bread and wine are consecrated. . . .

When the Priest hath said at the delivery of the Sacrament, The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul into everlasting life, the communicant is to answer Amen. By this Amen, professing his faith of the presence of Christ's Body and Blood in that Sacrament.—*Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 211. 216. 220. Ed. Oxford, 1840.

BISHOP FELL.

(Paraphrase and Annotations.)

1 Corinthians xi. 23.

[For this Holy Ceremony was not instituted by us for eating and drinking, but by the Lord Himself, for a sacred solemn commemoration of His death, and to be approached with all reverence and great preparation, as being the Body and Blood of the Lord.]

(Ver. 27.)

Wherefore whosoever shall eat this Bread [of the Lord] or drink this cup of the Lord unworthily [without due reverence, preparation, charity] shall be guilty of [violating] the Body and Blood of the Lord.

Id. (Heb. iv. 4.)

Enlightened.—This said, it may be, with reference to Baptism. *φωτίζεω* with the ancients used for *baptizare*.

Tasted of the heavenly Gift—i. e. our Lord's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

BISHOP HACKETT.

That which astonisheth the communicant and ravisheth his heart is, that this feast afford no worse meat than the Body and Blood of our Saviour. These He gave for the life of the world, these are the repast of this supper, and these we truly partake. . . . There is far more than a shadow, than a type, than a figure. Christ did not propose a sign at that hour, but also he gave us a Gift, and that Gift really and effectually is Himself, which is all one as you would say, spiritually Himself, for spiritual union is the most true and real union that can be. That which is promised, and faith takes it, and hath it, is not fiction, fancy, opinion, falsity, but substance and verity. . . . Yet this is a real, substantial partaking of Christ crucified, broken, His Flesh bleeding, His wounds gaping: so He is exhibited, so we are sure to receive Him, which doth not only touch our outward senses in the Elements, but pass through into the depth of the soul. "A mystery neither to be set out in words, nor to be comprehended sufficiently in the mind, but to be adored by faith," says Calvin.—*Christian Consolations, Bp. Taylor's Works*, Ed. Heber, vol. i.

BISHOP KEN.

I believe, O crucified Lord, that the Bread which we break in the celebration of the Holy Mysteries is the communication of Thy Body, and the Cup of blessing which we bless is the communication of Thy Blood, and that Thou dost as effectually and really convey Thy Body and Blood to our souls by the Bread and Wine, as Thou didst Thy Holy Spirit by Thy breath to Thy disciples, for which all love, all glory be to Thee.

Lord, what need I labour in vain to search out the manner of Thy mysterious Presence in the Sacrament, when my love assures me Thou art there? All the faithful who approach

Thee, with prepared hearts, they well know Thou art there, they feel the virtue of divine love going out of Thee to heal their infirmities and to inflame their affections; for which all love, all glory be to Thee.

O God Incarnate, how Thou canst give us Thy Flesh to eat, and Thy Blood to drink; how Thy Flesh is meat indeed; how Thou who art in heaven, art present on the Altar, I can by no means explain: but I firmly believe it all, because Thou hast said it, and I firmly rely on Thy love and on Thy Omnipotence to make good Thy word, though the manner of doing it I cannot comprehend.—*Exposition of the Church Catechism.*

BISHOP BEVERIDGE.

When we hear the words of Consecration repeated as they came from our Lord's own mouth, "This is my Body which is given for you," and "This is My Blood which was shed for you and for many for the remission of sins;" we are then steadfastly to believe that although the substance of the bread and wine still remain, yet now it is not common bread and wine, as to its use; but the Body and Blood of Christ in that Sacramental sense wherein he spake the words. . . . When it comes to our turn to receive it, then we are to lay aside all thoughts of bread and wine, and the Minister and every thing else that is or can be seen steadfastly believing it to be, as our Saviour said, "His Body and Blood," which our Church teacheth us are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.—*Necessity and Advantage of Frequent Communion*, p. 103—105.

Could the Church be sure that all her members would receive as they ought, with faith, she need not command them to receive it kneeling. For they could not do it any other way How can I, by faith, behold my Saviour, coming to me and offering me His own Body and Blood, and not fall down and worship Him. . . . Be sure our receiving the Blessed Body and Blood of Christ as the Catholic Church always did, in an humble and adoring posture, is both an argument and excitement of our faith in Him. By it we demonstrate that we discern the Lord's

Body and believe Him to be present with us in a peculiar Sacramental sense.—*Ibid.* p. 107.

I shall only add the express words of institution, wherein Christ said of the bread "This is My Body," Matt. xxvi. 26, and of the wine "This is My Blood of the New Testament shed for many for the remission of sins," ver. 28. And if the Bread be His Body and the Wine His Blood, it must needs follow, that whosoever eats the one and drinks the other as he ought to do, is made partaker of the Body and Blood of Christ. The Fathers are very frequent in asserting this truth. I shall instance but a few. St. Cyril of Jerusalem Therefore saith St. Hilary, "Of the truth of the Flesh and Blood there is no place left to doubt, for now by the profession of the Lord Himself, it is truly Flesh and truly Blood And St. Chrysostom, "Wherefore it is necessary we should learn the Miracle of the Mysteries &c." All which could not be unless we were partakers of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament.—*On the XXVIIIth Article.*

ARCHBISHOP SHARP.

But what then? Do we not in the Sacrament truly partake of the Body and Blood of Christ? God forbid that any one should deny it. There is none that understands any thing of the Sacrament but must acknowledge that therein to all worthy receivers the Body and Blood of Christ is both given, and likewise received by them. This is the sense of the Church of England, when she doth so often declare that she owns the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood to all that worthily receive the Sacrament.

We do indeed own that Christ is really present in the Sacrament to all worthy receivers, and in our communion service we pray to God to grant that we may eat the Flesh of His dear Son and drink His Blood &c. All this we own, and it is very necessary we should.—*Sermon on Transubstantiation*, vol. vii.

LESLIE.

Nor can the shewbread in the temple be called the Bread of our God so properly, so strictly, so eminently, as the Bread

in the Holy Sacrament, which is the Body of Christ . . . And does not then holiness and honour belong as much, at least, to the Evangelical Priesthood, who offer this Bread of our God, as the Priests under the law who set the shewbread upon the holy table in the temple? And is not the one as properly the office of a priest as the other?—*Regale and Pontificate. Works*, vol. i. p. 665.

JOHNSON.

Nor can I conceive how the words of St. Paul can otherwise be understood, in their full scope and latitude, when he says, “The cup of blessing which we bless is it not the communion” &c. 1 Cor. x. 16. He supposes that the Body and Blood of Christ are communicated to us by the Bread and Wine in the Holy Eucharist . . . And when St. Paul saith that ignorant and profane communicants “do not discern the Lord’s Body” in the Holy Eucharist, (1 Cor. xi. 29,) and that “they are guilty of” (an indignity toward) “the Body and Blood of our Lord,” ver. 27, he surely takes it for granted that the Body and Blood are actually there, whether they discern it or not . . .

I believe there is nothing that can more inflame and exalt the devotion of a sincere Christian, than to think and believe, that when he is praying at God’s Altar and receiving the Holy Eucharist, he has the price of his redemption in his hand, or lying before his eyes.—*Propitiatory Oblation*, pp. 28. 101.

The full and true notion of the Eucharist is, that it is a religious feast upon bread and wine, that have been first offered in Sacrifice to Almighty God, and are become the Mysterious Body and Blood of Christ.—*Unbloody Sacrifice*, vol. ii. p. 18.

BRETT.

We may ask again, if it be not convenient, nay necessary, that all those who partake of this holy Sacrament should understand and know what it is they do. Ought they not to be instructed in the nature and design of it, lest they eat and drink unworthily, not discerning the Lord’s Body? And how shall they discern the Lord’s Body, if they are not taught that the Lord’s Body is here present?—*Sermon on the Christian Altar and Sacrifice*, p. xii.

We pray that the bread and wine may be made the Body, and the cup the Blood of Christ, without any manner of restriction We pray that the Holy Ghost may make them Christ's Body and Blood, which implies as if we expected some extraordinary change to be made in the elements, requiring an omnipotent power to produce it. And I freely confess, for my own part, (and believe I may say the same for my brethren in communion with me) that I do believe so.—*Collection of Liturgies*, p. 256.

† GRABE.

The English Divines teach, that in the Holy Eucharist the Body and Blood of Christ, *under the species, that is, the signs*, of bread and wine, are offered to God, and become a representation of the Sacrifice of Christ once made upon the Cross, whereby God may be rendered propitious.

BISHOP WILSON.

We offer unto Thee, our King and our God, this bread and this cup. We give Thee thanks for these and for all Thy mercies, beseeching Thee to send down Thy Holy Spirit upon this Sacrifice, that He may make this bread the Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ, and that all we who are partakers thereof, may thereby obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His Passion.—*Sacra Privata. Lord's Supper. After Consecration.*

WHEATLY.

In these words [of the Consecration Prayer] the sense of the former is still implied, and consequently by these, the Elements are now consecrated, and so become the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ. . . .

A Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist, is what our Church frequently asserts in this very office of Communion, in her Articles, in her Homilies, and her Catechism.—*On the Common Prayer*, vi. § 22. 31.

† Quoted in "Tracts for the Times," No. 81, p. 378.

APPENDIX I.

THE CATHOLIC SPIRIT OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH DURING THE REIGNS OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.

THE following extracts from Neal's History of the Puritans will enable the reader to form some idea of the tone which pervaded the theology of our Church in its best and brightest times, since the Reformation. Some persons may object to the testimony of a Dissenter, but we might easily obviate this objection by verifying his statements by actual reference to the divines of the period in question.

“The new Bishops (under James I.) admitted the Church of Rome to be a true Church, and the Pope the ¹first Bishop of Christendom. They declared for the lawfulness of ^mimages in Churches; for the Real Presence; and that the doctrine of transubstantiation was a school nicety. They pleaded for ⁿconfession to a Priest, for sacerdotal absolution, and the proper merit of good works. . . . They claimed an ^ouninterrupted succession of the Episcopal Character from the Apostles through the Church of Rome, which obliged them to maintain the validity of her ordinations, when they denied the validity of those of the foreign Protestants. Further, they began to imitate the Church of Rome in her gaudy ceremonies, in the rich furniture of their chapels, and the pomp of their worship. They complimented the Roman Catholic Priests with their dignitary titles, and spent all their zeal in studying how to compromise matters with Rome, while they turned their backs upon the old Protestant doctrines of the Reformation, and were remarkably negligent in preaching, or instructing the people in *Christian knowledge*. Things were come to such a pass, that Gondamar, the Spanish Ambassador, wrote to Spain, that there never was more hopes of England's conversion, ‘for there are more prayers,’ says he, ‘offered to the Mother than to the Son of God.’”—Vol. i. p. 396. Ed. Parsons.

We are further informed by Burnet, that of the Scotch Bishops

¹ Vid. Appendix ii.

^m Appendix iii.

ⁿ Appendix iv.

^o Appendix v.

“some that were stricter and more learned did lean so grossly to Popery, that the heat and violence of the Reformation became the main subject of their sermons.”—*Hist. of his Own Times.*

Neal thus describes the theology of the English Church under Charles I. :—

“The Bishops and courtiers not being insensible of the number and weight of their enemies, among the more resolved Protestants, determined to balance their power by joining the Papists; for which purpose the difference between the two Churches was said to be trifling, and the peculiar doctrines of popery preached up as proper to be received by the Church of England.

“Bishop Montague speaking of the points of faith and morality, affirmed that none of these are controverted between us, but that the points in dispute were of a lesser nature, of which a man might be ignorant without any danger of salvation. Francisus de Clara, an eminent Franciscan Friar, published a book, wherein he endeavoured to accommodate the Articles of the Church of England to the sense of the Church of Rome, so that both parties might subscribe them. The book was dedicated to the king, and the friar admitted to an acquaintance with the Archbishop.

“Great stress was laid upon the uninterrupted succession of the Episcopal character through the Church of Rome; for ‘miserable were we,’ says Dr. Pocklington, ‘if he that now sits Archbishop of Canterbury could not derive his succession from St. Austin, St. Austin from St. Gregory, and St. Gregory from St. Peter.’ Bishop Montague published a treatise of the Invocation of Saints, in which he says that departed Saints have not only a memory but a more peculiar charge of their friends; and that some Saints have a more peculiar patronage, custody, protection and power, as Angels have also over certain persons and countries, by special deputation, and that it is not impiety so to believe.

“Dr. Cosins says in one of his sermons, that when our reformers took away the Mass they marred all religion; but that the Mass was not taken away, inasmuch as the real presence of Christ remained still, otherwise it were not a reformed but a deformed religion. And in order to persuade a papist to come to church, he told him that the Body of Christ was substantially and really in the Sacrament.

“ Mr. Adams, in a sermon at St. Mary’s in Cambridge, asserted the expedience of auricular confession, saying it was as necessary to salvation as meat is to the body. Others preached up the doctrine of penance, and of authoritative priestly absolution for sin. Some maintained the proper merit of good works, in opposition to the received doctrine of justification by faith. Others that in the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, there was a full and proper sacrifice for sin : and some declared for images, crucifixes, and pictures in churches, for purgatory, and for preserving, reverencing, and even praying to the reliques of saints.

“ Remarkable are the words of Heylin. ‘ The greatest part of the controversy between us and the Church of Rome,’ says he, ‘ not being in fundamentals or in any essential points of the Christian Religion, I cannot otherwise look upon it but as a most Christian and pious work to endeavour an agreement in the superstructure : as to the lawfulness of it, I could never see any reason produced against it : against the possibility of it it has been objected that the Church of Rome will yield nothing ; if therefore there be an agreement, it must not be their meeting us, but our going to them ; but that all in the Church of Rome are not so stiff, appears from the testimony of the Archbishop of Spalato, who acknowledged that the Articles of the Church of England were not heretical. Now if without prejudice to truth, the controversies might be composed, it is most probable that other Protestant Churches would have sued to be included in the peace ; if not, the Church of England will lose nothing by it, being hated by the Calvinists, and not loved by the Lutherans.’ ”
—Vol. i. p. 492 et seqq.

APPENDIX II.

ON THE PRIMACY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF.

THE ‘ Essays on the Church’ complain that “ Rome itself, and its Bishop are regarded,” by certain divines, “ with a degree of reverence and favour *wholly unknown to the Apostolic ages.*”

Certainly none of the passages quoted from the “ Tracts for the

Times," or the British Critic, in confirmation of this charge, at all come up to the following extracts from some of the old divines of the Anglican Church.

DEAN FIELD.

(On the Church, book v. chap. 32.)

"We deny not but that blessed Peter had a kinde of Primacie of honour and order, that in respect thereof, as all Metropolitans do succeed him, as being greater than other bishops in honour and place; and amongst them the Romane Bishop in the first place. . . .

"We deny not, therefore, to the Romane Bishop his due place among the prime Bishops of the world, if therewith he will rest contented, but Universal Bishop in sort before expressed, we dare by no means admit him to be, knowing right well, that every Bishop hath in his place, and keeping his own standing, power and authority immediately from Christ, which is not to be restrained or limited by any but by the company of Bishops; wherein, *though one be chief for order sake, and to preserve unity, and in such sort, that all things must take their beginning from him,* yet he can do nothing without them."

(Id. book v. chap. 50.)

"Touching the presidentship of General Councils, it pertained in a sort, to all the Patriarches Yet we deny not, but that as these were over all other Bishops, so even amongst these also there was an order, so that one of them had a preeminence above and before another. For the Bishop of Alexandria was before the Bishop of Antioch, and the Bishop of Rome before him, anciently even before the time of the Nicene Council, and afterwards the Bishop of Constantinople, made a Patriarch, was set before the other two, next unto the Bishop of Rome. . . .

"The Canon of the Church prescribeth that no General Council shall be holden without the Bishop of Rome, and the Bishops subject to him; but the meaning of the Canon is, not that all proceedings are void and unlawful, wherein his presence is not had, but wherein it is not sought and expected."

BISHOP GOODMAN.

(His Last Will.)

“ I die most constant in all the articles of our Christian Faith, and in all the doctrine of God’s Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, whereof I do acknowledge the Church of Rome to be the Mother Church ; and I do verily believe that no other Church hath any salvation in it, but only so far as it concurs with the faith of the Church of Rome.”

[It is, perhaps, needless to state, that Bishop Goodman’s views were such as to bring upon him the suspicion of being a concealed Romanist. There is not however the slightest authority for supposing this to be the fact. The very same suspicions, though perhaps not to the same extent, were fixed by the Puritans on almost all his contemporaries. The following extracts from one of the highest authorities in our Church are almost equally strong. They might at first sight be mistaken for the words of some Gallican divine, arguing against an ultra-montane; the same well-known distinction being maintained throughout, between the *Church* of Rome and the *Court* of Rome.]

ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL.

“ I demonstrate to thee that the true controversy is not concerning St. Peter: we have no formed difference about St. Peter, nor about any point of faith, but of interest and profit, nor with the Church of Rome, but with the Court of Rome, and wherein it doth consist ; namely, in these questions, who shall confer English Bishoprics ? who shall convocate English Synods ? who shall receive tenths, and first fruits, and oaths of allegiance and fidelity, &c.

“ Thou desirest to bear the same respect to the Church of Rome that thy ancestors did ; so do I. But for that fulness of power, yea, coactive power, in the exterior court, over the subjects of other princes, and against their wills, devised by the Court of Rome, not by the Church of Rome ; it is that pernicious source from whence all these usurpations did spring.

“ Does not all the world see that the Church of England stands no otherwise in order to the Church of Rome, than it did in

Henry the Eighth's days? He addeth farther, that it is confessed that the Papal power in Ecclesiastical affairs was cast out of England in Henry the Eighth's days. I answer, that there was no mutation concerning Faith, nor concerning the Power of the Keys, or any jurisdiction purely spiritual, but concerning co-active power in the exterior court, concerning the Patronage or civil sovereignty over the Church of England, and the legislative, judiciary, and dispensative power of the Pope in England over English subjects."—*Works*, pp. 289. 342.

BISHOP COSIN.

(Points of Agreement between the Churches of England and Rome.)

"5. In acknowledgment of the Bishop of Rome, if he would rule and be ruled by the ancient Canons of the Church, to be the Patriarch of the West, by right of Ecclesiastical and Imperial Constitution, in such places where the Kings and Governors of those places had received him, and found it behoveful for them to make use of his jurisdiction, without any necessary dependance upon him by Divine Right."

APPENDIX III.

IMAGES.

THAT Images were unknown, nay, we may add strictly forbidden, in the earliest ages of the Church, is an historical fact, and this would be sufficient to justify our Church, did she prohibit any decorations of this kind in her places of worship. This is fully acknowledged by Roman Catholic divines, who include Images among the several points of variable discipline. Protestant controversialists, on the other hand, assert that not only the veneration of Images, Pictures, or Relics, but the very having them, is Idolatry. This we can by no means allow:—There has been a time when the second Council of Nice has been received by all parts of the Church, whether East or West; and, whether we acknowledge this Council as Œcumenical or no, we dare not assert that the whole Catholic Church, at this time, was guilty of idolatry, and that the greater part of it has remained idolatrous

up to this very day. If so, our own Church was idolatrous, until the Rebellion at least, for it was not till then that the greater part of the images and painted windows in the Churches were broken down. The Iconoclasts, moreover, were severely punished by the Star-chamber, and enquiries instituted after them by many of the Bishops.

As the subject of Images is one of minor importance, we shall only quote two of our divines upon them, both Bishops, and persons of great influence in their day, but representing two very different schools of theology.

BISHOP MONTAGUE.

“Images have three uses assigned by the schools. Stay there. So we will go no further, and we charge you not with idolatry. The pictures of Christ, of the Blessed Virgin, and of the Saints, may be had in houses, set up in churches; respect and honour may be given to them, the Protestants give it; you say, they must not have Latria, so say we; you give them Dulia, I quarrel not with the term, though I could. There is a respect due to the pictures of Christ and his Saints. If you call this Dulia, we give it too, let doctrine and practice go together, we agree.”—*Gagger gagged*, p. 300.

ARCHBISHOP TENNISON.

“The article of the creed of Trent is this; ‘I most firmly profess that the images of Christ, and of the Mother of God, always a Virgin, as also those of other Saints, are to be had and retained, especially in churches, and that due honour and veneration be given to them.’ Due honour and veneration are in themselves modest words; and where we admit the pictures and images of Christ, we refuse not the honour that is due to them. We do not choose to put them in vile places, we do not use them in vile offices; we esteem them as ornaments, we value them as the images of persons more honourable than our prince or our friend, we use them as ^aremembrancers of the great mystery of man’s

^a “Bien loin de croire comme les idolatres que quelque divinité habite dans les images, nous ne leur attribuons aucune vertu que celle d’exciter en nous le souvenir des originaux.”—BOSSUET. Exposition de La Foi Catholique.

redemption, which we cannot too frequently be reminded of."—*Sermon on Idolatry*, p. 280.

Whatever may be thought of Bishop Montague, no one who knows any thing of Archbishop Tennyson will accuse him of Romanism, and yet his words are as strong as any of those which have been so much censured in the 90th Tract for the Times.

APPENDIX IV.

PRIVATE CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION.

BISHOP OVERALL.

"*Let him come to me.*] Confession of sins must necessarily be made to them to whom the dispensation of the Mysteries of God is committed. For so they which in former times repented among the saints are read to have done. It is written in the Gospel, that they confessed their sins to John the Baptist. In the Acts they all confessed their sins unto the Apostles of whom they were baptized."—*Notes on the Common Prayer*.

BISHOP MONTAGUE.

"Doth he (the Minister) especially exhort them (his parishioners) to make Confession of their sins to himself, or some other learned, grave, and discreet minister, especially in Lent, against that holy time of Easter; that they may receive comfort and absolution, so as to become worthy receivers of such sacred mysteries?"—*Articles of Inquiry*, tit. vii. 4.

BISHOP WHITE.

"Protestants, in their doctrine, acknowledge that private Confession of sins, made by penitent people to the Pastors of their souls, and particular absolution, or special application of the promises of the Gospel to such as are penitent, are profitable helps of virtue, godliness, and spiritual comfort."—*Conference with Fisher*, p. 186.

BISHOP TAYLOR.

“ We may very much be helped if we take in the assistance of a spiritual guide; therefore the Church of God in all ages hath commended, and in most ages enjoined that we confess our sins, and discover the state and condition of our souls to such a person whom we or our superiors judge fit to help us in such need. For so, if we confess our sins to another, as St. James advises, we shall obtain the prayers of the holy man whom God and the Church hath appointed solemnly to pray for us: and when he knows our needs, he can best minister comfort or reproof, oil or caustics; he can more opportunely recommend your particular state to God, he can determine your cases of conscience, and judge better for you than you do for yourself, and the shame of opening such ulcers may restrain your forwardness to contract them. . . . And it were well if this duty were practised prudently and innocently, in order to public discipline.”—*Holy Living*, chap. iv. sec. 9.

BISHOP COSIN.

(Points of Agreement with the Church of Rome.)

6. . . . “ In public or private absolution of penitent sinners.” . . .

11. “ In the use of Indulgences, or abating the rigour of the Canons imposed upon offenders, according to their repentance, and their want of ability to undergo them.”

And WHEATLY in later times;—

“ We may still, I presume, wish very consistently with the determination of our Church, that our people would apply themselves oftener than they do, to their spiritual Physicians, even in the time of their health. Since it is much to be feared, they are wounded oftener than they complain, and yet through aversion of disclosing their sore, suffer it to gangrene, for want of their help who should work the cure. But present ease is not the only benefit the penitent may expect from his confessor's aid; he will be better assisted in the regulation of his life, and when his last conflict shall make its approach, the holy man, being no stranger to the state of his soul, will be better prepared

to guide and conduct it through all difficulties that may oppose.”
—*On the Common Prayer*, chap. xi. sec. 4.

[See also Hammond’s Annotations on James v. 16.]

APPENDIX V.

ON THE VALIDITY OF NON-EPISCOPAL ORDINATION.

As a *Catena Patrum* has already appeared in the Tracts for the Times, (No. 74,) on the Apostolical Succession, it will be unnecessary to repeat quotations here. We shall therefore be content with the following very decided extracts which have not yet been adduced.

BISHOP TAYLOR.

(Episcopacy Asserted.)

“We have clear evidence of the Divine Institution of the perpetual order of Apostleship; marry for the presbyterate, I have not so much reason or confidence for it as now it is in the Church, but for the Apostolate it is beyond exception. And to this Bishops do succeed. For that it is so, I have proved from Scripture; and because ‘No Scripture is of private interpretation,’ I have attested it with the Catholic testimony of the Primitive Fathers,—calling Episcopacy the Apostolate, and Bishops successors of St. Peter in particular, and of all the Apostles in general in their ordinary offices.”—Sect. xi.

“Are all ordinations invalid which are done by mere presbyters, without a bishop? What think we of the reformed Churches?”

“1. For my part, I know not what to think. The question hath been so often asked, with so much violence and prejudice, and we are so bound by public interest to approve all that they do, that we have disabled ourselves to justify our own. . . .

“2. Why is not the question rather, what we think of the primitive Church, than what we think of the reformed Churches? Did the primitive fathers and councils do well in condemning the ordinations made by mere presbyters? If they did ill, from what principle shall we judge of the right of ordinations? since

there is no example in Scripture of any ordination made but by Apostles and Bishops. . . .

“ So as in Scripture there is nothing for presbyters ordaining, so in Antiquity there is much against it; and either, in this particular, we must have strange thoughts of Scripture and Antiquity, or not so fair interpretation of the ordinations of reformed presbyteries. . . .

“ But will not necessity excuse them, who could not have orders from orthodox bishops?

“ 1. I am very willing to believe that they would not have done any thing either of error or suspicion, but in cases of necessity. But then, I consider that M. Du Plessis, a man of honour and great learning does attest, that at the first Reformation, there were many Archbishops and Cardinals in Germany, England, France, and Italy, that joined in the Reformation, whom they might, but did not employ in their ordinations; and what necessity there can be pretended in this case, I would fain learn, that I might make their defence. But which is of more and deeper consideration . . . it is their constant and resolved practice, at least in France, that if any returns to them, they will re-ordain him by their presbytery, though he had before episcopal ordination, as both their friends and their enemies witness.

“ 2. I consider that necessity may excuse a personal delinquency, but I never heard that necessity did build a Church Indeed, if God means to build a Church in any place, he will do it by means proportionable to that end, that is, by putting them into a possibility of doing and requiring those things which himself hath required of necessity to the constitution of a Church. So that supposing ordination by a Bishop, is necessary for the vocation of priests and deacons, as I have proved it is, and therefore for the founding and perpetuating of a Church, either God hath given to all Churches opportunity and possibility of such ordinations . . . or if He hath not given such possibility, then there is no Church there to be either built or continued, but the candlestick is presently removed.

“ I am sure I have said sooth, but whether or no it will be thought so, I cannot tell, and yet why it may not, I cannot guess, unless they only be impeccable, which, I suppose, will

not so easily be thought of them, who themselves think that all the Church possibly may fail.

“ I hope it may happen to us . . . rather to die (to wit, the death of martyrs, not rebels) than lose the sacred order and offices of Episcopacy, without which no priest, no ordination, no consecration of the Sacrament, no absolution, no rite or sacrament legitimately can be performed in order to eternity.”

DAWSON.

(Origo Legum.)

“ In the Reformation of any particular Church, great care ought to be taken, that no separation be made from the Catholic Church . . . For every Church is a member, or part of the Catholic Church, and every part ought to be congruous to the whole, or else it ceaseth to be a part, or at best it is but a deformed and a deforming part of it. . . .

“ Again, one thing more is to be observed in the Reforming any particular Church, and it is such a one which will both lead to the greatest purity, and also keep it from swerving from the Church Catholic; and it is that a diligent and watching eye be had to the faith and practice of the Primitive Church. . . .

“ One only Priesthood was always owned in the Church, and the same Priesthood is owned here, and no other; namely, That which was conferred by Christ on His Apostles, and transmitted by them to Bishops, their successors, and by them to others, in a continued succession to this day. . . .

“ The Churches of Geneva and Scotland have cast away all Episcopal Ordination, and by consequence, as we think, have no true Priesthood . . . And therefore I conclude that the examples of other Reformed Churches ought not to be a law for the Church of England. . . .”

WHEATLY.

(On the Common Prayer, chap. 2. sec. 3.)

“ A commission to ordain was given to none but the Apostles, and their successors . . . Consequently none but such as are

† Compare with these extracts from Bishop Taylor, Mr. Froude's Remains, (part ii. vol. i. p. 43.)

ordained by Bishops can have a title to minister in the Christian Church."

APPENDIX VI.

ON THE BLESSED VIRGIN AND THE SAINTS.

1. On the Blessed Virgin.—*Vid. Essays on the Church*, 1838, p. 288, 289; and 1840, p. 402, 403.

BISHOP ANDREWES.

" Making mention of the all-holy, undefiled and more than blessed Mary, Mother of God, and Ever-Virgin, with all Saints, let us commend ourselves and each other, and all our life, to Christ our God."—*Devotions. Translated. Tracts for the Times*, No. 88, p. 60.

BISHOP TAYLOR.

" Hither bring in succour from consideration of the Divine Presence, and of His holy Angels, meditation of death, and the Passion of Christ upon the Cross, imitation of His purities, and of the Virgin Mary, His unspotted and holy Mother" &c.—*Holy Living*.

BISHOP PEARSON.

"^s We believe the Mother of our Lord to have been not only before and after His Nativity, but also for ever, the most Immaculate and Blessed Virgin. . . . It was her own prediction, ' From henceforth all generations shall call me blessed,' but the obligation is ours to call her, to esteem her so. If Elizabeth cried out with so loud a voice, ' Blessed art thou among women,' when Christ was but newly conceived in Her womb; what expressions of honour and admiration can we think sufficient now that Christ is in heaven, and that Mother with Him? Far be it from any Christian to derogate from that special privilege granted Her, which is incommunicable to any other. We cannot bear too reverend a regard unto the Mother of our Lord, so long as we give her not that worship which is due unto

^s Archbishop Bramhall includes among the genuine Apostolical Tradition, " the perpetual Virginitv of the Mother of God."—*Works*, p. 33.

the Lord Himself. Let us keep the language of the Primitive Church, ‘† Let Her be honoured and esteemed, let Him be worshipped and adored.’—*On the Creed*, Article iii.

BISHOP JOLLY.

“ The Blessed Virgin Mother is undoubtedly the most highly exalted and honoured of all creatures ; the second Person of the all-glorious Trinity having assumed Her substance and united it with the human soul, in One Person with His Divinity, never to be divided. She may, therefore, without hesitation be called, as She is by the Church, ‘ The Mother of God.’ She is so named by the third General Council at Ephesus ; and her cousin Elizabeth by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, called Her in terms equivalent when, meeting Her, she cried in rapture, Whence is this to me that the mother ‘ of my Lord,’ who is God our Saviour, ‘ should come to me.’ ‘ All generations,’ according to Her divine canticle foretold, do ‘ call Her Blessed.’ And certainly the highest honour that can be paid to a creature is due to Her.”—*On the Eucharist*, p. 94.

2. Intercession of the Saints.

DEAN FIELD.

“ That the Saints do pray for us ‘ in genere,’ desiring God to be merciful unto us, and to do unto us whatsoever in any kind, He knoweth needful for our good, there is no question made by us ; and therefore this prayer, wherein the Church desireth God to be gracious to her, and to grant the things she desireth, the rather for that the Saints in heaven also are suppliants for her, will not be found to contain any point of Romish doctrine disliked by us.”—*On the Church*, Appendix to book iii. p. 223.

ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL.

“ Concerning the ‘ Intercessions, prayers, merits of the Saints,’ (taking the word ‘ merit’ in the sense of the Primitive Church, that is, not for *desert*, but for *acquisition*,) I know no difference

† Of this very passage Dr. Wiseman says, “ How moderate, how un-Protestant is the language of St. Epiphanius.”—Remarks on Mr. Palmer’s Letter, p. 53.

about them among men who understand themselves, but only about the last words, 'which they invoke in their temples' rather than Churches. A comprecation both the Grecians and we allow, and ultimate invocation both the Grecians and we detest; so do the Church of Rome in their doctrine, but they vary from it in their practice."—*Works*, p. 418.

COLLECT IN THE ORIGINAL SERVICE FOR KING CHARLES THE MARTYR, PUT FORTH BY AUTHORITY IN 1661 :—

"We beseech Thee to give us all grace to remember and provide for our latter end, by a careful, studious, imitation of this Thy Blessed Saint and Martyr, and all other Thy Saints and Martyrs that have gone before us, that we may be made worthy to receive benefit by their prayers, which they in communion with thy Church Catholic offer up unto Thee, for that part of it here militant, and here in fight with, and in danger from the flesh."

BISHOP PEARSON.

"The Saints of God living in the Church of Christ, are in communion with all the Saints departed out of this life and admitted to the presence of God. . . . If I have communion with a Saint of God, as such, while he liveth here, I must still have communion with him when he is departed hence, because the foundation of that communion cannot be removed by death. . . . That we communicate with them in hope of that happiness which they actually enjoy, is evident; that we have the Spirit of God given us as an earnest, and so a part of their felicity, is certain. But what they do in heaven in relation to us on earth particularly considered, or what we ought to perform in reference to them in heaven, beside a reverential respect, and study of imitation, is not revealed unto us in the Scriptures, nor can be concluded by necessary deduction from any principles of Christianity. They which first found this part of the Article in the Creed, and delivered their exposition unto us, have made no greater enlargement of this communion, as to the Saints of heaven, than the "society

^u Tria sunt igitur quæ in festivitatis Sanctorum vigilantè considerare debemus: auxilium Sancti, exemplum ejus, confusionem nostram. Auxilium

of hope, esteem and imitation on our side, of desires and supplications on their side.”

“We have already produced the words of the one hundred and eighty-first Sermon, de Tempore, concerning hope. In the same we find also that of imitation. *Si igitur cum Sanctis in æternâ vitâ communionem habere volumus, de imitatione eorum cogitemus. Debent enim in nobis aliquid recognoscere de suis virtutibus, ut pro nobis dignentur Domino supplicare . . . Besides this imitation, he addeth their desires and cares for us below &c.*”—*On the Creed.* Article ix. and note.

BRETT.

“If they [the Saints departed] still hold the Communion of Saints, and it is an Article of our Creed that they do so, we cannot doubt of their praying for us. And if they do pray for us, is it unlawful for us to pray that God would hear their prayers for us? Is it a corruption in a Liturgy to have such a petition in it? I can by no means think so. The Apostle, speaking of our praying one for another, adds, that ‘the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.’ Now I cannot doubt but the Saints departed are righteous men, and therefore cannot doubt but their effectual fervent prayer for their brethren on earth availeth much. Consequently, that it is lawful for any private Christian, or any congregation of Christians, to pray that their prayers may be available to them in this particular . . . We know—that ‘there is but One Mediator betwixt God and man, the man Christ Jesus;’ but then we know also, that this must be understood of One Mediator of Redemption, because God has so frequently commanded us to pray one for another, that is, to be intercessors, or mediators of intercession, for each other. For these reasons I

ejus, quia qui potens in terrâ fuit potentior est in cœlis ante faciem Domini Dei sui. Si enim dum hic viveret miseratus est peccatoribus et oravit pro eis: nunc tanto amplius quanto verius agnoscat miserias nostras, orat pro nobis patrem: quia beata illa patria caritatem ejus non immutavit sed augmentavit . . . Debemus etiam attendere exemplum ejus quia quamdiu in terris et cum hominibus conversatus est, non declinavit ad dexteram neque ad sinistram: sed viam regiam tenuit donec veniret ad Illum qui dicit, Ego sum via, veritas et vita . . . Sed et diligentiori intuitu confusionem nostram inspiciamus: quia homo ille similis nobis fuit passibilis, ex eodem luto formatus ex quo et nos. Quid ergo est quod non solum difficile sed et impossibile credimus ut faciamus opera quæ fecit, ut sequamur vestigia ejus?—S. Bernard. in Vigil. S. S. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum.

can by no means think it amiss to pray that we may obtain a place at God's right hand, by the intercession and supplication of the Saints."—*Liturgies*, p. 360, 361.

[See also Thorndike's Epilogue, book iii. p. 356, (quoted at length in Dr. Pusey's Letter to Dr. Jelf,) where the subject is treated with the author's usual orthodoxy and accuracy.]

3. On the 'Merits' of the Saints.

DEAN FIELD.

"^xBut they will say there is mention made in this prayer of the Merits of those holy Apostles and Martyrs, and the Church desireth God to grant her petition for those merits, which is contrary to the doctrine of Protestants, that deny all merit properly so named, and therefore cannot but condemn the opinion of one man's meriting for another. For answer hereunto we must observe, as Cassander rightly noteth, that there is no merit properly so named, to be attributed to miserable and mortal men; and that though the Ecclesiastical writers use the word merit, and when they speak of holy men's works call them merits, yet they

^x This passage will serve as an explanation of St. Leo's words, in the Tracts for the Times (No. 75,) which appears so objectionable to some persons. "Cujus suffragantibus meritis, quæ poscimus, impetrare possumus."—Vid. *Essays on the Church*, 1838, p. 289. The author of these Essays continually asserts, that one of the great doctrines of the Reformation was justification by Faith, in opposition to Salvation by works, maintained by the Church of Rome. Does he really mean to say that the Western Church ever was Pelagian? Perhaps he is not aware of the existence of such canons as these. "Si quis dixerit, hominem suis operibus quæ vel per humanæ naturæ vires, vel per legis doctrinam fiant, absque divinâ per Jesum Christum gratiâ posse justificari coram Deo: anathema sit." "Si quis dixerit, sine præveniente Spiritus Sancti inspiratione, atque Ejus adjutoris—hominem credere, sperare, diligere aut poenitere posse, sicut oportet, ut ei justificationis gratia conferatur: anathema sit." "Si quis dixerit, homines sine Christi justitiâ, per quam nobis meruit, justificari, aut per eam ipsam formaliter justos esse; anathema sit."—*Conc. Trident. Sess. vi.* Here is the very heresy in question anathematized by the Council of Trent. "Ce même Concile enseigne que tout le prix et la valeur des œuvres Chrétiennes provient de la grâce sanctifiante qui nous est donnée gratuitement au nom de Jésus Christ et que c'est un effet de l'influence continuelle de ce divin Chef sur ses membres. . . . Nous confessons hautement que nous ne sommes agréables à Dieu qu'en Jésus Christ et par Jésus Christ, et nous ne comprenons pas qu'on puisse nous attribuer une autre pensée."—BOSSUET. *Exposition de l'Eglise Catholique.*

think them not to be properly so, but do so name the good actions of holy men that proceed from faith, and the working of the Holy Ghost, because Almighty God, though they be His gifts, and joined in them, by whom they are wrought, with defect and imperfection, yet is so pleased to accept of them out of His goodness, that He not only rewardeth the doers of them with ample and great rewards in their own persons, but so as to do good for others for their sakes Neither only doth He good for their sakes, whose works He thus rewardeth, while they live, but even after they are dead also O strange thing! O ineffable clemency! a man long since dead patronizeth him that liveth. In this sense then it is that the Church desireth God to be gracious unto her in granting her petitions, for the merit of those His holiest ones, that she remembereth, no way derogating from the merits of Christ, but putting a great difference between them and those of the Saints.”—*On the Church*. Appendix to book iii. p. 223.

[See also Archbishop Bramhall and Thorndike, in loc. supra cit.]

APPENDIX VII.

PRAYER FOR THE FAITHFUL DEPARTED.

BISHOP ANDREWES.

“GRANT, O Lord, that we may all find mercy and favour with all Thy Saints, who from the beginning of the world have pleased Thee in their several generations, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and every just spirit made perfect in the faith of Thy Christ, from righteous Abel even unto this day: do Thou give them and us rest in the region of the living, in the bosoms of our holy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, whence sorrow, grief, and lamentation are banished away, where the light of Thy countenance visits and shines continually, and vouchsafe to bring them and us to the full enjoyment of Thy heavenly kingdom.”—*Devotions for Friday*.

DEAN FIELD.

“Touching the first of these two, which is prayer for the dead, it is well known that Protestants do not simply condemn all prayers in this kind. For they pray for the resurrection, public acquittal in the day of judgment, and the perfect consummation and bliss of them that rest in the Lord, and the perfecting of whatsoever is yet wanting unto them.”—*On the Church*. Appendix to book iii. p. 221.

BISHOP OVERALL.

“The Puritans think that here is Prayer for the Dead, allowed and practised by the Church of England; and so think I: but we are not both in one mind for censuring the Church for so doing. They say it is popish and superstitious, I for my part esteem it pious and Christian . . . Besides, Prayer for the Dead cannot be denied but to have been universally used of all Christians in the ancientest and purest time of the Church, and by the Greek Fathers, who never admitted any purgatory, no more than we do, and yet pray for the dead notwithstanding. What though their souls be in bliss already, they may have a greater degree of bliss by our prayers: and when their bodies come to be raised, and joined to their souls again, they shall be sure of a better state.”—*Additional Notes to Nicholls' Commentary on the Common Prayer*.

ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL.

“We condemn not all praying for the dead, not for their resurrection and the consummation of their happiness, but their prayers for their deliverance from Purgatory.”—*Works*, p. 356.

BISHOP FORBES.

“The Bishops of the Church of England afterwards, at the suggestion and with the counsel of Bucer and others, blotted out these most ancient and pious prayers, or changed them into another, I know not what form, savouring of the novelty now in vogue. But I wish the Church of England . . . had rather in this matter, and some few others, conformed to the custom of the

most ancient Universal Church, than for the sake of some errors and abuses, which afterwards crept in by little and little, altogether rejected and wholly taken it away, to the great scandal of almost all other Christians.”—*Consid. Modest.* part ii. cap. 3. ap. Hickes.

BISHOP TAYLOR.

“Upon what accounts the Fathers did pray for the Saints departed, and indeed generally for all, it is not now seasonable to discourse; but to say this only, that such general prayers for the dead as those above reckoned, the Church of England never did condemn by any express article, but left it in the middle.”—*Dissuasive from Popery.* Works, vol. x. p. 147.

HAMMOND.

“It is certain that some measure of bliss which shall at the day of judgment be vouchsafed to the Saints, is not till then enjoyed, and therefore may safely and fitly be prayed for them.”—*Annotations on 2 Tim.* i. 16.

BISHOP COSIN.

(Points of Agreement with the Church of Rome.)

9. “In giving thanks to God for them that are departed out of this life in the true faith of Christ’s Catholic Church, and in praying to God that they may have a joyful resurrection, and a perfect consummation of bliss, both in their bodies and souls, in His eternal kingdom of glory.”

[See also Bp. Cosin’s Notes on the Communion and Burial Services in “Additional Notes to Nicholls’ Commentary.”]

THORNDIKE.

“Since unity hath not been obtained by parting with the law of the Catholic Church, in mine opinion, for the love of it, I continue my resolution to bound Reformation by the rule of the Catholic Church. Allowing that it may be matter of Reformation to restore the prayers that are made for the dead, to the original sense of the whole Church; but maintaining that to take

away all prayer for the dead, is not paring off abuses, but cutting to the quick."—*Epilogue*, book iii. chap. 28. p. 337.

[See also *Weights and Measures*, chap. 22. p. 159.]

BISHOP BULL.

“Prayers for the Dead, as founded on the hypothesis of Purgatory (and we no otherwise reject them), fall together with it. The prayers for the dead used in the Ancient Church, those I mean that were more properly prayers, i. e. either deprecations or petition, were of two sorts, either the common and general commemoration of all the faithful at the Holy Eucharist, or the particular prayers used at the funerals of any of the faithful lately deceased, &c.”—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 260.

BISHOP HICKES.

“In answer to your last question, I do assure that I am heartily of Mr. Thorndike’s opinion, and as truly zealous as you may imagine he was, for praying for the dead who depart in the faith and fear of God, and in the peace of the Church.”—*Supplement of Additions to the 3rd edit. of Dr. Hickes’ two Treatises*, p. 46.

BISHOP COLLIER.

“The recommending the dead to the mercy of God is no innovation of the Church of Rome; but a constant usage of the Primitive Church . . . I have already observed prayer for the dead does not imply purgatory; whence it follows, that though the Church of England condemns the ‘Romish doctrine of Purgatory’ (Art. xxii.) we cannot thence infer her dislike of Prayer for the dead.”—*Ecclesiastical History*, part ii. book iv.

LESLIE.

“What were these prayers? they were for peace and rest to those who were supposed to be in peace, yet might receive increase

‡ Quoted in Brett’s *Dissertation on the Liturgies*. See also Hickes’ “*Christian Priesthood*” and his “*Devotions*,” the latter work especially, where his prayers for the departed might easily be mistaken for the composition of some Roman Catholic.

of happiness even before the resurrection, as some suppose heaven itself to consist in an eternal increase of bliss : but without this we may pray for continuance of peace to those who are in peace, though we know it will surely be ; as when we pray, ‘Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done.’ We know it must be ; but this shews our assent and wishes for it. And in this sense we also pray for the dead, that it would please God ‘shortly to accomplish the number of His elect,’ &c. And we bless Him for ‘all His Servants departed this life,’ &c. So that we pray for them as well as for ourselves, that we *with them* may be partakers of His heavenly kingdom.”—*Case stated between the Churches of England and Rome. Works*, vol. iii. p. 162.

WHEATLY.

“The sentence [in the burial service] as it is still left standing, may well enough be understood to imply the dead as well as the living : for we pray, as it is now, ‘that we, with all those departed in the true faith of God’s holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss ;’ which is not barely a supposition, that all those who are so departed will have their perfect consummation and bliss ; but a prayer also, that they may have it, viz. that we with them, and they with us may be made perfect together, both in body and soul, in the eternal and everlasting glory of God.”—*On the Common Prayer*, chapter xii. sec. 4. § 2.

BRETT.

“The Scripture requires us to *pray for all Saints*, and also plainly teaches us that the faithful departed come into that number. Therefore, we disobey the Scripture when we exclude the faithful departed from our prayers. This the ancients never did, but, as appears from all these Liturgies, and the testimony of the Primitive Fathers, they always remembered them in this particular, whenever they celebrated the Holy Eucharist.”—*Liturgies*, p. 284.

BISHOP WILSON.

“Together with us, remember, O God, for good, the whole mystical Body of Thy Son ; that such as are yet alive may finish their course with joy, and that we, with all such as are

dead in the Lord, may rest in hope and rise in glory, for Thy Son's sake, whose death we now commemorate. Amen."—*Sacra Privata. Lord's Supper. After Consecration.*

BISHOP JOLLY.

"For the faithful departed, in this point of view, considered as expectants of full felicity, and waiting in that transporting hope for the coming of our Lord, the prayers of the Church holding communion with them here below; for in the Body of Christ death makes no division—are very warrantably presented, while commemorating the death and resurrection of Christ, who to this end died, and rose, and revived, that He might be the Lord, both of the dead, and living. We are commanded to make prayers for all Saints; and surely the title *saints* belongs in the most eminent manner, to those holy souls, happy in Paradise, with whom we are fellow-citizens, as being of the same household of God."—*The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist*, p. 152.

To these numerous citations we might add the epitaphs of many of our great divines, composed by themselves.

Thus, in Bishop Cosin's Epitaph we find "Requiescat in pace," a petition very offensive to modern religionists.

Bishop Barlow's is still stronger:—

"Exuviæ Isaaci Episcopi Asaphensis in manum Domini depositæ, in spem lætæ resurrectionis per sola Christi merita. O vos transeuntes in Domum Domini, Domum orationis, orate pro conservo vestro, ut inveniatur requiem in Die Domini."—*Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 671.

APPENDIX VIII.

DESIDERATA IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

IT is well known that the first Liturgy of Edward the Sixth contained many things which were omitted in the second Liturgy, and have never been restored in subsequent revisions. Many persons are led from this to conclude, that the omission of these things was a virtual condemnation of them on the part of the

Church, so that any desire for their restoration must be looked upon as contrary to its principles, and dangerous to its safety.

The following *facts*, however, are worthy of consideration.

1st. These Catholic practices were expunged from the Liturgy, not from any aversion to them on the part of the Anglican "Reformers," but solely from a desire to conciliate those continental theologians who thought proper to interfere with the concerns of our Church. Whether our 'reformers' were justified or no, in suffering this intrusion from such thoroughly *un-catholic* minds as Peter Martyr, Alasco, and Calvin, and whether the consequent suppression of truth has not been highly injurious to the best interests of the Church, are separate considerations; one thing, however, is certain, viz. that the English Reformers, at that time, at least, had no intention of condemning those holy and apostolic practices which they sacrificed for the sake of peace.

2nd. The second Liturgy was never submitted for the approval of Convocation, but was established by parliamentary authority alone—the state being then far more Protestant than the Church. Yet the very Act of Parliament, from which the second Liturgy derived all its authority, expressly declares that the first Liturgy contained nothing but what was agreeable to the Word of God, and the practice of the Primitive Church. The wording is very remarkable.

1. "There was nothing contained in the said first Book, but what was agreeable to the Word of God and the Primitive Church, very comfortable to all good people, desiring to live in Christian conversation, and most profitable to the estate of this realm."

2. "That such doubts as had been raised in the use and exercise thereof, proceeded rather from the curiosity of the minister and mistakers than of any other worthy cause."

This testimony is of the highest importance, considering what things are contained in the first Liturgy, and are thus declared to be agreeable to Holy Scripture and the Primitive Church. For among them we find

1. The Ancient form of Sacrifice, the words "Altar" and "Mass."

2. Prayer for the faithful departed.

3. The sign of the Cross *repeatedly used in each of the Sacraments.*

4. The use of Chrism in Baptism and Confirmation.

5. Extreme Unction.

This deserves the serious consideration of those who are in the habit of speaking against these Primitive practices as "Popish abominations," for if they are indeed agreeable to the Word of God and Apostolical Antiquity, in speaking against them we are fighting against God.

The subject is of the greatest practical importance to the Church, with reference to two different classes of persons, namely, those who do, and those who do not pay due deference to Catholic Antiquity. The ^z former class will, in their researches into Antiquity, constantly meet with the above practices, and if they are taught to believe that the English Church condemns them, they will naturally leave its communion. The other class continually meet every argument in favour of Tradition, by the assertion, that however much the Church may appeal to Antiquity, it has departed from it in these points which it condemns, and therefore if Antiquity be wrong in one case, it may be so in another.

It is therefore not only safe and expedient, but absolutely necessary to point out that these Catholic practices have never been condemned by the Church, but that the want of them is to be lamented as a great deficiency. But at the same time this confession need not disturb those feelings of love, reverence, and submission, which we are bound to entertain towards our Church, but should rather tend to make us cling to her with redoubled affection, as to "a violently treated but a holy and dear possession, more dear perhaps and precious than if it were in its full vigour and beauty, as sickness and infirmity endears to us our friends and relatives."

And while every true Churchman will, thankfully and with deep humility, acknowledge the blessings mercifully vouchsafed

^z See "Geraldine," p. 113, 3rd edit. and the following extracts from some of the Non-jurors.

^a Rev. J. H. Newman's Letter to Dr. Fausset, p. 46.

to him in this branch of the Church Catholic, as greater than he deserves, and more than he has a right to claim, he will think it no inconsistency to look back with a longing regret upon the purer days of the Church's first love, and to lift a thought in prayer with holy Bishop Andrewes, "that her deficiencies may be supplied, and that what remains in her may be confirmed."

GRABE.

"But, notwithstanding his preference of the English Reformation, he did not think every thing in the best and most primitive situation. For after several articles of commendation, he subjoins some *DESIDERATA* written in capitals."

"And here the doctor shews his dislike of not mixing water with wine in the Eucharistic cup, of eating blood and things strangled, and discontinuing the ancient practice of Immersion in Baptism. The learned Dr. Hickes, his intimate acquaintance, reports that he used to deliver his mind very freely in defence of the ancient Catholic usages of all Churches. Amongst these, the same learned Dr. Hickes (with his own approbation) mentions the oblation of Bread and Wine, and the Prayer of Invocation to God the Father, to send down the Holy Spirit upon the consecrated elements, to make them the Body and Blood of His Son Jesus Christ, to the communicants, not in substance, but in grace and virtue. Dr. Grabe likewise declared frankly for Chrism in Confirmation, for anointing the sick with oil, for Confession and Judicial Absolution, for prayer for the souls of the deceased, who die in the faith and fear of God; for the ancient commemoration of the Saints in the Holy Eucharist.

"On his death bed he communicated by our first reformed Liturgy, refusing to receive by the other. Dr. Hickes who administered the Holy Eucharist, anointed him with oil, Dr. Lee a learned physician communicating with him. And pursuant to the form in the first Liturgy, he left legacies in his will to be remembered in his friends' prayers."—*Collier's Appendix to Morevi*, vol. iv. Art. Grabe.

BISHOP HICKES.

"As for the transient, aerial and vanishing signs of the Cross, which in the pure ancient times were used in religious worship,

I very much approve of the use of them, as we do in Baptism, and as I would have done, in anointing the sick with oil, and persons confirmed with Chrism, were we so happy as to have those primitive religious rites and usages restored.”—*Supplement of Additions to the 3rd ed. of Dr. Hickes' two Treatises*, p. 46.

BRETT.

“ I shall endeavour as far as in me lies, to persuade the governors of the Church of England to make good the declaration of this Church in her 30th canon of 1603, that ‘ her purpose was not to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Germany, or any such like Churches &c.’ Now it is very certain, that these and all other Churches of that communion have not fallen either from themselves in their ancient integrity, or from the Apostolic Churches which were their first founders in the use of Chrism, at Confirmation, in mixing water with the Sacramental Wine, in the Eucharist as a proper Sacrifice, in the unction of the sick, and in praying for the faithful departed. . . . This is a matter of fact obvious to all, and therefore the Church of England has indeed obliged herself to restore these and other Primitive practices observed by those Churches, before they fell from their integrity: otherwise she stands self-condemned by her own declaration.”—*Necessity of Tradition*.

APPENDIX IX.

SHERLOCK ON ‘SIN AFTER BAPTISM.’

THE following remarks are from the third chapter of Dean Sherlock’s very popular work “On Death.” Those who wish to refer to that part from which these extracts are taken, will find a long and valuable dissertation on this awful subject.

“ I believe, upon enquiry, it would be found that justification by faith always alludes to this Baptismal justification, when, by Baptism, we are received into Covenant with God, and into a justified state, only for the sake of Christ, and through faith in His Blood. Which one thing well considered, would put an end

to most of the disputes about Justification, and about Faith and Works." P. 271.

"Faith and Repentance will not justify a heathen without Baptism; 'for he that believes and is baptized shall be saved,' are the express terms of the Covenant; and therefore the condition of apostates is very hopeless, who are relapsed into such a state, that nothing but Baptismal grace and Regeneration, nothing but being new made, and new born, can save them; and that they cannot have, for they must not be baptized again. A Christian must be but once born, no more than a man is; which possibly is the reason why St. Peter tells us of such apostates, that their latter end is worse with them than their beginning, (2 Pet. ii. 20.) For Jews and heathens, how wicked soever they were, might wash away all their sins in Baptism; but such apostates are like a sow that was washed, that returns again to her wallowing in the mire. When they had washed away their sins and infidelity in Baptism, they return to their forsaken paganism again, and lose the effect of their first washing, and there is no second Baptismal washing to be had. . . . If any such men be saved, they must be saved, as I observed before, by uncovenanted grace and mercy, they are in the state of unbaptized Jews and heathens, not of Christians, who have a covenant right to God's promises. And I would desire the baptized atheists and infidels of our age to consider of this. . . . What I have now discoursed, plainly shews that a baptized Christian must not always expect to be saved by such grace as saves and justifies in Baptism: Baptismal Grace is inseparably annexed to Baptism, and can be no more repeated than Baptism. This makes the case of apostates so desperate, that infidelity can be washed away only in Baptism, and those who apostatize after Baptism can never be rebaptized again; and therefore can never have any covenant title to pardon and forgiveness." Pp. 278, 279.

[See also Bishop Taylor on Repentance, chap. viii. sec. 2, 3, 4. Also Thorndike's "Epilogue," and Rights of the Church, chap. i.]





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